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PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION¹

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR HERMAN G. JAMES

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PROPORTIONAL representation is now "a real issue," says Professor James in the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, "which must be faced at once by those who are leaders in moulding public opinion along lines of municipal progress." We who are advocates of P. R. acknowledge with much pleasure this admission of the great advance recently made in America by our cause, but we welcome no less warmly the criticisms which Professor James directs against our proposals. The case against P. R. is stated fully, moderately, competently. For us this is a great advantage: we understand more clearly the difficulties which P. R. presents to the minds of those who are as earnest as ourselves in their devotion to reform; we are confronted with the weaknesses, if any, of our position; we must deal with objections formulated with so much authority. The whole article compels thoughtful discussion, and from such discussion proposals for reforms based upon sound principles always emerge with added strength, with increased support.

¹ The following is a list of articles dealing with the subjects of proportional representation and preferential voting published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. In addition there have been frequent brief references in the departments.

Preferential Voting and How It Works, Reginald Mott Hull, Vol. i, p. 386.

Proportional Representation, Preferential Voting and Direct Primaries, Clarence G. Hoag, Vol. III, p. 49.

Preferential Voting, Lewis J. Johnson, Vol. iii, p. 83.

Proportional Representation at Los Angeles, George H. Dunlop, Vol. iii, p. 93.

Preferential Voting and the Rule of the Majority, Melvin P. Porter, Vol. iii, p. 581.

The Ashtabula Plan—The Latest Step in Municipal Organization, A. R. Hatton, Vol. v, p. 56.

Proportional Representation: A Fundamental or a Fad, Herman G. James, Vol. v, p. 306.

THE THREE METHODS OF ELECTING A CITY COUNCIL

Professor James classifies his objections under three heads, theoretical, legal, and practical; it will be convenient, therefore, to examine them in this order. The real point at issue, however—it runs right through the article—is the relative merit of different methods of election; and as it is desirable that this discussion shall have practical results, shall enable those who follow it to arrive at definite conclusions, I shall, before proceeding to deal with the objections in detail, contrast briefly the three principal methods available for electing a council—the block vote, the ward system, proportional representation.

With the block vote councillors are elected by the city at large or by districts of considerable size each electing several representatives; each elector has a vote in respect of each seat to be filled. Under this system the largest group of citizens, by nominating a full list of candidates and giving one vote to each, may win all the seats, leaving all other groups without representation. This system is in use in Lewisham, the London borough in which I live. For the past nine years the majority there has held all the seats. The Progressive minority (a municipal group), numbering about 40 per cent, has had no representation, and a feeling of hopelessness has crept into all its organizations. The same system was used in the election at large of fifteen delegates to serve in the last New York constitutional convention; the Republicans elected all fifteen.

This simple form of the block vote may be modified by incorporating with it provisions for preferential voting. In the sense in which the term is used in America, preferential voting is intended to insure that each person elected by it shall be a candidate who is favored by an absolute majority of the votes. From his article I gather that Professor James approves of the election of the governing body of a city—the council or commission—by the block vote carried out with this preferential ballot. On this point “all leaders in moulding public opinion” must think out their own position with equal clearness. Do they, or do they not, approve of a method of election which may leave 40 per cent or more of the citizens without representation in the council which decides policies affecting all?

With the second method, the ward system, the city is divided into comparatively small districts each of which elects as a rule one representative at a time. The elected councillor is supposed to represent all the citizens who sleep in his ward, but who may differ as widely as the poles in their views on municipal policies. These citizens are usually agreed in nothing save the interests of their section of the city, and that explains why the representative so often considers and votes upon municipal problems in the light of the interests of his ward only. Under this system

the public-spirited may find their votes completely nullified by the votes of those who have accepted favors from the ward boss; the former possess the right to vote but not the right, which the franchise was intended to confer, to choose a representative.

Under the ward system a leader like Alderman Charles E. Merriam of Chicago, who really represents a large percentage of all the voters of the city, may lose his seat merely because he fails to receive the largest vote in the particular ward in which he happens to live. This may be the fate even of the leader whom an absolute majority of the citizens would elect if they could. In the London county elections of 1907 their supporters and the county lost the services of two ex-chairmen of the council, the vice-chairman, and several chairmen of committees—all chosen by their colleagues for these positions because of their special fitness. Manchester and other English cities have lost some of their ablest councillors in the same way, defeat by small majorities in a ward election. Under the block vote the danger of a sweeping change of personnel is obvious: under that system the turn-over of a trifling percentage of votes—the small number often sufficient to turn the scale—may mean the defeat of a whole group of councillors of long experience.

Proportional representation takes the good features of the two systems already outlined and adds others of its own. The election is held at large—the good feature of the block vote—so that the broader outlook, the needs of the city, may prevail over the narrower outlook of the ward. It accepts, too, one of the ideas on which the ward system is based. If a city, with a council of seven, is divided into seven districts or wards of approximately equal size, each one-seventh of the citizens secures one-seventh of the representation. Under P. R. one-seventh of the citizens would be equally entitled to one-seventh of the representation. But the character of the constituency is changed: it is no longer a seventh of the citizens who live in adjoining streets and think differently; it is a seventh who may live in different parts of the city but are agreed in their views on municipal questions. Under such a system the votes of the public-spirited are not nullified by those of the dependents of the ward-manager: electors are free, in choosing representatives, to join with those who are like-minded; the majority does not monopolize representation, but each important group secures its fair share; municipal leadership is encouraged—the Merriams must fight for their group and for their principles, but they have reasonable security of tenure since the retention of their seats depends not on their opponents but on their friends. Under such a system all citizens, within the limits of practicability, will be brought into association with the council; they will follow its proceedings and discussions with greater interest, for each will have a representative in whose election—in whose *selection*—he took an effective part.

THEORETICAL OBJECTIONS TO P. R.

The foregoing analysis of the three available methods of election will enable me to deal more lucidly with the objections raised by Professor James. He prefaces them with a statement of the claims made for proportional representation which concludes in these terms: "There will be reflected in the council every important shade of political opinion that exists in the community, and the action of the council will represent in the end the composite of the opinions of the electorate, instead of merely the opinion of the majority." I prefer, more particularly as the article deals with cities, to state the case as follows: Under P. R. every important group of citizens who are in agreement in respect of municipal policies will be assured of representation in proportion to their strength; and, as a consequence of this fair and complete representation, the action of the council on any issue submitted to it will be determined in each case by the representatives of a majority of the citizens; whilst, before any decision is taken, the representatives of the minority will be in a position both to criticize the proposal of the majority and to put forward suggestions of their own for consideration.

Three alterations have been made, and in commenting upon them I shall answer the main objections made by Professor James. The first change is merely verbal and has little significance. For "shades of political opinion" I have substituted "groups of citizens agreed on municipal policies." If the words "political opinion" are interpreted in their broadest sense, no real change has been made. I desire, however, to emphasize the fact that P. R. facilitates more surely than any other method of election the elimination of national politics from municipal elections; it encourages the grouping of citizens around municipal policies and issues, with which the principles of the two largest national parties surely have little to do. If, as Professor James suggests, more or less permanent municipal parties arise, it will be because the two main tendencies in human thought—the progressive and the conservative—will find expression therein; but P. R. is so flexible, it adapts itself so readily to the needs of the moment, that it is more probable that, as M. Ostro-gorski contends, new groups, new parties will arise as new municipal problems and issues emerge for consideration.

The second alteration is much more important. I have inserted the clauses "*in consequence of this fair and complete representation*, the action of the council . . . will be determined by the representatives of a majority of the citizens." Complete representation, I contend, that is, representation as complete as is practicable, is necessary to insure majority rule. For let us examine what takes place when the council represents "merely the opinion of the majority." In this case the members of the council will perhaps have been elected by, and will speak for, but

little more than half of the citizens. A majority of the members will be sufficient to determine any of the important questions brought before the council. But a majority of the members will not represent a majority of the citizens: they will speak for much less than half. Thus the representation of the majority only often means minority rule.

Let me illustrate this contention. Citizens may be divided into four groups holding different views on municipal questions. The first group may be made up of men interested in business, in contracts, in the preservation of privilege and monopoly of all kinds, and partly of men merely conservative. The second group may be keenly interested in social welfare activities in respect of which it wants its city to stand pre-eminent; this group may at the same time be opposed to government ownership, contending that municipal franchises should be strictly controlled but not operated by the city itself. The third group might be convinced that it is in the public interest that the city should own and operate street-car lines and all enterprises of a municipal character. The fourth group, the Socialists, might desire to press still further the policy of municipal ownership. Under the proportional system these principles and the issues related to them would be clearly discussed at election time, and after the election all four groups would be represented fairly. A distinct issue might then be raised in this representative council, say the establishment of a system of playgrounds such as that of Chicago. In respect to the proposal each representative would have to go on record. The second, third, and fourth groups would probably approve; and if their representatives constituted a majority, the views of the majority of the citizens would prevail. A second and quite different issue might then arise, the establishment of a municipally owned and operated electric-light plant. The third and fourth groups would approve, but unless their representatives constituted a majority the proposal would be voted down. In each case the majority of the citizens decide because all are represented. Contrast the work of this P. R. council with one elected under the block-vote majority system. The four different groups would still exist, but they would have to find representation as best they could. Amalgamations would take place. Many of the second group (supporters of social welfare reforms), alarmed at some of the proposals of the third and fourth groups, might find themselves, somewhat unwillingly, compelled to vote for candidates nominated and controlled by reactionary influences. The latter might have made some concessions by including in their ticket the names of a few reformers. The composite ticket wins, and the third and fourth groups are unrepresented. The decisions now taken in the council will be determined by a majority of the members elected on the composite ticket, and decisions favorable to reactionary interests may be taken which would have been rejected had

all the citizens been fairly represented. The council represents the majority only, and the minority rules.

The third alteration is equally important. The action of the council, instead of representing, as Professor James suggests, "the composite of the opinions of the electorate," represents in each issue the wishes of the majority who are free to accept or reject the suggestions of the minority. I challenge particularly, in respect of the council's action, the use of the word "composite": it suggests haziness, indefiniteness—whereas P. R. does not confuse, it clarifies, the presentation of issues. Again let us use an illustration. The question of a large city improvement may come up for decision; a majority approves and it is carried. This improvement may involve the displacement of many poor families, and hardships may result in many cases whether the law provides for compensation or not. Under P. R. there are likely to be in the council representatives who have especially at heart the interests of the poorer classes. The considerations urged on their behalf are admitted, and the scheme is modified, or rather improved, so that the hardships, so far as possible, are obviated. There is no haziness about these decisions. The majority decided in favor of the improvement and it was carried. The representatives of minorities criticized and made suggestions. The suggestions were accepted, but again the decision was taken by the majority. Each issue was presented clearly and separately and determined upon in accordance with its merits. Professor James says: "The more truly the councillors reflect the conflicting interests of the constituencies, the more difficult does the process of legislation become, and the more unsatisfactory will the finally inevitable compromises prove." The fact is, as my illustration shows, that legislation is improved—the shoe is made to fit—when the experience, the needs, of all classes of citizens are presented within the council. Unsatisfactory compromises, unintelligible haziness are the characteristics of the majority system, which compels different classes of citizens to find expression, if they can, through some common denominator, to get representation through a composite ticket. But, says Professor James, "however lengthy and careful may be the discussion . . . the final action is and must be taken by majorities." This statement is obviously true. With the majority system of representation all the planks in the compromise platform are steam-rolled through by one and the same majority; with proportional representation each separate issue is determined by a majority of the citizens, but it may be by a different majority.

Two other points raised by Professor James call for comment. "How," says he, "can a councillor, elected by one-tenth of the voters of a city, not knowing who his electors were or what policies they represent, reflect the political opinions of any one but himself?" This sentence reveals so complete a misunderstanding of what takes place and must take place under P. R. that I am astonished that it finds its way into print. Profes-

sor James is evidently troubled by the claim made by P. R. advocates that independent candidates may sometimes be elected. The independent candidate, if elected, will certainly not be some one who, as it were, is in the air, detached from and unrelated to the questions which enter into the election; he will be an independent with a long record of public service behind him, in itself a sufficient indication of his views, or a candidate with a distinctive policy or new issue which other groups have refused to endorse. It is inconceivable that in any municipal election under P. R. a candidate would give no indication of his views. The electors are going to choose representatives. On what grounds will a candidate with no record of work behind him, no policy to enunciate, appeal for support? Under P. R. there will be the greatest political sympathy between the councillor and those who chose him; they will have selected him because they approve of him and his policies.

The other objection raised is the weakest of all. Professor James reminds us that representation cannot possibly be complete or perfect in character; "the dreams of the proportional representation advocates are not possible of realization." We are practical men and know full well that it is not possible to provide under any scheme of election that every group, however unimportant, shall be represented; but why is this an objection to providing for the fair representation of groups that are important? For these P. R. can and does secure representation; and when, as will be the tendency, municipal groups are based on principles, even the smaller matters will fall into their proper place.

Hitherto we have been examining the case of a representative city government, one in which all matters of policy are determined. "But," says Professor James, "under the system of direct government which we are rapidly approaching, and which they [the advocates of P. R.] endorse, important questions of policy are no longer left to the decision of the representative body. Under those circumstances *the only issue in the choice of candidates is one of personality and character.*" A good many leading advocates of P. R. do not approve of direct legislation; they support P. R. because it strengthens and perfects representative government; they oppose direct legislation because it replaces representative government, substituting for the legislative chamber a body less competent to work out the details of legislation. I admit, however, that there is much agreement between those who are working on different lines for the improvement of democratic government, but I was not aware that the leaders in the movement for direct legislation wish to destroy representative government altogether. Mr. U'Ren, with whom I discussed these matters in Oregon last December, informed me that he had in view, from the very beginning of his reform agitation, the creation of a deliberative and fully representative legislature. He is still pursuing his original aim. Other advocates of the initiative, referendum, and recall

whom I met in the west expressed the opinion that these instruments should be used sparingly, their object being to control, not replace, representative government. The leaders, as Professor Barnett says, recognize that direct legislation can be overworked; they fear that "its overuse will bring reaction and endanger its existence."¹ Last year some 47 separate propositions were submitted at the same time to the electors of California. In common with these leaders I do not desire to overtax the capacity of voters; I approve of the short ballot movement for a similar reason; it seeks to concentrate the attention of electors upon a few things which they can do well, to wit, the election of representatives. Further, with direct legislation the voters must reject or accept a bill as presented. P. P. Woodbridge, secretary of the United Farmers of Alberta, told me that he assisted in carrying by referendum a prohibition act for his state, although it contained clauses which he detested, one of which penalized a householder on whose premises were found tumblers such as are used in saloons. In a legislative chamber there would have been a separate decision on that point. Perfected representative government still has many advantages over direct government. I cannot admit, therefore, that the time has come or is coming when the only issue in the choice of candidates is one of personality and character.

But even were it so, the Hare system allows each group of citizens to select the representatives it most prefers. Professor James is again troubled. "If," says he, "one-tenth of the electorate is law-breaking, corrupt, and disgraceful, P. R. insures their representative a seat in the council. That is a kind of democracy which I for one cannot endorse." Apparently Professor James would choose for them. But one of the great merits of P. R. is this: it will allow the public to see what kind of representative these law-breaking, disgraceful citizens will elect. Their representative will be isolated, and there is nothing like isolation in full view of the public to destroy both corruption and those conditions in which it breeds. Moreover, with the system of majority representation, these law-breaking, corrupt, and disgraceful citizens still exist, but they do not stand alone: they enter into and often corrupt the municipal group which trades for their support; their votes are purchased, not necessarily with money, for the more these corrupt influences are hidden, the more powerful they are; the decisions within the council of the composite majority often reflect the terms on which that majority secured its power.

LEGAL OBJECTIONS

A state supreme court has held the preferential ballot (the Bucklin system widely adopted in America) to be unconstitutional, and Professor

¹ James D. Barnett, *The Operation of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall in Oregon*, pp. 81, 82.

James warns the advocates of P. R. of the possible fate of their proposals. It is interesting in this connection to call attention to the judicial decisions on preferential voting given in the same issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW in which Professor James' article appears. The arguments by which the court sustains its judgment in *Brown v. Smallwood* (Minnesota) are valid against preferential voting, but not against proportional representation. The judgment says that "the preferential system greatly diminishes the right of an elector to give an effective vote for the candidate of his choice. If he votes for him once, his power to help him is exhausted. If he votes for other candidates he may harm his choice but cannot help him." The judgment fastens upon the essential defect in the Bucklin system of preferential voting which Professor James endorses. *The expression of a second-choice may harm the first-choice.* The Bucklin system does not even insure majority representation. As soon as the largest group of electors discover that it does not pay to record second preferences, the Bucklin system will tend to break down. Were I an organizer and wanted to control the election, say, of a council of five, and the Bucklin system was in force, I should advise the supporters of our group to give first-choice votes to each of our five nominees and to throw away their second-choices. Our group might command only 45 per cent of the votes, but, with the accretion of second-choices given by supporters of other groups not so wide-awake, we might secure all five seats. At the last elections in Cleveland, Ohio—they were held under this system—only a small percentage of the electors exercised their second choice, and some of these regretted having done so.

The other opinion quoted, the judgment in *State v. Thompson* (North Dakota) reads as follows: "Our system of government is based upon the doctrine that the majority rules. This does not mean a majority of marks, but a majority of persons." P. R. complies with the terms of this judgment; it is based upon the doctrine that the majority rules; it asserts that, to secure majority rule, all must be represented as fairly as the circumstances permit. If majority rule is a first principle of American government, the advocates of P. R. need not despair. But granted that there are constitutional difficulties in the way of P. R., the obstacles have to be overcome.

PRACTICAL OBJECTIONS

The practical objections may be dismissed in a few words. P. R., it is alleged, "is an elaborate and complicated election procedure." The average voters "will be sceptical and suspicious, and so far from having their interest in voting increased it will be decreased." Wherein lies this great complication? The Hare system is supposed to be the most complicated of all. Yet its rules for counting consist, in the main, of directions for the sorting and transferring of ballots according to the preferences

marked upon them. The written rules for baseball give an appearance of complexity to one who has never watched or taken part in the game. The electoral officers who have carried out elections under the Hare system do not complain: they find each of the operations sufficiently simple. Further, the facts show that the interest in voting is increased, not decreased. The citizens, instead of being suspicious, begin to wake up when they realize the effect of the new system. The working-men of Johannesburg understand full well that they will obtain one representative on the city council for every quota of votes polled; they therefore endeavor to poll as many quotas as possible. In Tasmania, when the figures are announced, some of the citizens are adepts in working out what the quota must be. The truth is, the Hare system made its first advances among working-men, trades unions: so far from being alarmed at its complexity, they recognized its fairness and put it to use.

The second objection is that some of the election officers may be corrupt and that their corruption may be more difficult to discover. It would seem desirable to get rid of corrupt election officers in any case, and I know of no case where corruption has been alleged against any officers charged with the administration of the Hare system. Corruption, instead of being more difficult to discover, is more difficult to perpetrate: not only must the presiding officer in a voting precinct be corrupt, but all the other precinct officials and all those at the central office, through whose hands the papers must pass, must connive at the corruption.

The third objection is that the satisfactory working of the recall is impossible. If the recall is necessary, the proportional system supplies the only machinery in which its fair use can be guaranteed. The city council of Berkeley is not elected under P. R., but nevertheless two Socialist councillors, representatives of the minority, were elected when Stitt Wilson, a Socialist, was elected mayor. The recall was put into operation, so Mr. Wilson informed me, for the purpose of withdrawing these representatives of the minority from the council. The attempt failed, but Mr. Wilson saw in this attempt what an unfair advantage the recall places in the hands of an unscrupulous majority. In Ashtabula, where the Hare P. R. system is used, the position of a representative of the minority is safeguarded: the recall is put into operation only if 75 per cent² of those who signed the nominating petition of the elected councillor also sign the recall petition. A minority member cannot be recalled so long as he commands the confidence of those he represents. I am hoping that, with P. R., the recall may not be necessary; it implies that we cannot trust the representatives we elect. To obtain the best representatives we *must* trust. I prefer to trust and to take the risk of my representative failing me. Under P. R. I know he will have every reason to keep faith: he will depend for re-election upon those who voted

² This percentage is perhaps too high. J. H. H.

for him in the first instance. He cannot take refuge under any umbrella such as that which the majority system, with its composite ticket, affords.

The final objection is best answered by those who have had experience of the commission-manager plan of government. Professor James fears that it is "strategically unwise for the supporters of good city government to advocate at this time so radical a change in the manner of constituting the governing bodies of our cities." Let Lent D. Upson, recently director of the bureau of municipal research at Dayton, answer. When P. R. was being advocated for Ashtabula, he wrote as follows: "I am sorry that my own city of Dayton should not have been chosen to make the experiment. . . . The experience of a year and a half has now demonstrated the need of a more satisfactory method of connecting public opinion with the government itself. Our administration is honest, highly efficient, and has exceeded my most enthusiastic expectation so far as results are concerned. I feel, however, that its work would be strengthened if every element had a voice in the policy-making body, and was compelled to go on record regarding the very matters which they are now criticizing. . . . I feel confident that *the greatest success of our present type of government* [commission-manager plan] *will come under some system of proportional representation.*" The last sentence, which I have italicized, should give Professor James pause. Let me add to it another, this time from Professor C. A. Beard: "*The great gains of the new forms of city government cannot be retained unless provision is made for proportional representation.*" Yes, it would indeed seem that P. R. has become "a real issue which must be faced at once by those who are leaders in moulding public opinion along the lines of municipal progress."

SOME RECENT USES OF THE RECALL

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ALAMEDA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

THE attempt to recall Supervisor Kelly of Alameda county, California, last fall (1915) spent itself in a futile struggle over the petition. Underneath the formal charges written into the petition, one of which was that Supervisor Kelly had cast a favorable vote for the purchase of a new courthouse site, there existed apparently a keen factional strife. The recall issues were confused by the bitterness of this strife and by the charges and counter charges of fraud and misrepresentation in regard to the petition procedure. The petition was the pivotal point of the conflict; it was the beginning and end of the whole affair.

In the latter part of October 1915 a petition designating Supervisor Kelly, and containing some 300 names, was filed with the county clerk. It was insufficient since 3,685 signatures were necessary to constitute the required minimum. The clerk so certified to the board of supervisors who, in accordance with the provisions of the recall law, granted the filers of the petition ten days within which to secure supplemental signatures.

During this ten day interim Kelly brought charges of misrepresentation and fraud against the circulators of the petition, and his charges were followed by the arrest of two of the paid solicitors. The day following the arrest 65 men and women appeared before the clerk and requested that he remove their names, claiming that they had thought that they were signing a protest against the adoption of the new courthouse site. The recall faction denied the charge and brought the counter charge that several of the solicitors they had employed were really in the employ of Kelly and had made every effort to obtain fake signatures to the petitions in order to discredit the whole recall movement.

At the time when the board of supervisors had made provision for the ten day period for the filing of the supplementary petitions they had also spread on their minutes an opinion of the district attorney to the effect that the petition first filed constituted the legal petition, that all names added thereafter were supplemental and with their filing the time for withdrawals would terminate. The originators of the petition at the expiration of the ten day period filed with the county clerk 4,400 sup-

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plemental signatures to be added to the original petition. This move effectively prevented Kelly from obtaining access for the purpose of securing removals to the names of the large majority of the signers of the petition directed against him. He charged that the action of the recall faction in thus filing the supplemental names at the eleventh hour was a mere piece of political jobbery. The storm of criticism waxed violent on both sides, and the point at issue was not the recall, but the petition designed to initiate the recall.

The matter was brought to a close by the action of the county clerk. He declared the petition as supplemented insufficient. Some 800 names were thrown out for various irregularities, such as, according to the clerk's reported statement, signatures made by wives for husbands and *vice versa*, failure properly to date the separate sheets, affixing of dates by the solicitor when they should have been written in by the signer, etc.

The contest in Alameda county illustrates the force of the criticism, long since made, of this circulating petition procedure. The safeguard of the legal tabu is not sufficient to prevent unscrupulous men from taking advantage of the manifold opportunities for misrepresentation and fraud, not to speak of forgery and bribery, that present themselves in circulating a petition, or to speak more accurately a number of petitions (separate sheets), among the voters. The professional solicitor is not made of the staunchest stuff, leaving out of account the "amateur" who hires him. The plan adopted in some cities of placing the petitions in convenient public places, readily accessible to the voter desirous of having an official recalled, is much better adapted to avoiding the evils attaching to irresponsible petition peddling.

SAN BERNARDINO, CALIFORNIA

The attempt to recall George Wixom, mayor of San Bernardino, California, throws light on another phase of the recall, a political rather than a procedural phase. Wixom in a contest which involved three other candidates was elected mayor by a plurality of 500 votes. Immediately after the election former mayor Catick, an unsuccessful candidate to succeed himself, aided and abetted by his chief of police Seccomb, started a petition for the recall of the newly elected mayor. Eight months later he had secured sufficient names to initiate a recall election. Charges of inefficiency and extravagance were formally made in the petition, but the real issue seems to have been a fight over a more "liberal" town. A heated campaign ensued from which Wixom emerged triumphant having defeated his opponent, the same former Mayor Catick, by the overwhelming majority of 1800 votes. Mayor Wixom was supported not only by his own forces but by the forces of two of the three men who were contestants in the original election.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

The potential force of the recall as a deterrent, which by some persons thoroughly cognizant with municipal affairs has been considered its chief virtue, is illustrated in a somewhat unusual fashion in a recent unsuccessful recall election in Atlanta, Georgia. The fact of its existence and the threat of its use constitute what is usually understood as the deterrent force of the recall. In Atlanta it took the experience of an actual recall election to clarify the atmosphere and bring home to recalcitrant officials the will of the people.

In October 1915 the board of police commissioners of Atlanta, composed of the mayor and one councilman, *ex officio*, and five others, removed from office Chief of Police Beavers who had been in the service 26 years without a single reprimand, and who had risen by the force of personal character to the head of the department. Beavers was charged with incompetency, inefficiency, and insubordination, but the evidence was so overwhelmingly in his favor as to the charges of incompetency and inefficiency that he was found guilty only of insubordination. It was believed by many that the insubordination the police board had in mind was the fact that Beavers was seeking to enforce the liquor law, and had been instrumental in closing the segregated district. The fact that the spirit if not the letter of the civil service law had been violated intensified the popular feeling against the commissioners.

The petition for the recall of the police board including the mayor was duly filed and the council passed a resolution setting January 5, 1916, as the date for the recall election. Then a startling thing occurred—the mayor vetoed the act of the council. He alleged that the petition was illegal. The city clerk, however, being advised by the city attorney that the veto was null, ordered the recall election for January 5. The recall election was held, the mayor offering no further obstruction, and the recall in each case of mayor and each member of the police commission was defeated overwhelmingly.

The defeat of the recall taken on its surface would warrant one in concluding that the people of Atlanta approved the police commissioners' act removing Beavers, and, by implication, favored a policy of an "open" town. An analysis of the election, however, reveals the interesting fact that in all probability the police commissioners were saved from defeat by the efforts made in their behalf by the three local newspapers which repeatedly assured the voters that the removal of Beavers had no relation to a policy of non enforcement of the law. On the contrary the voters could be certain that if the police commissioners were not recalled the law would continue to be enforced. The recall faction maintained that the removal was an entering wedge towards an "open" town. If the officials under suspicion did have in mind a policy of "liberalizing" the city, it is certainly fair to conclude from the publicity given to the issue of an "open" versus a "closed" town, upon which both factions

apparently were agreed, that the election, although unsuccessful, would act as a decided deterrent upon the policy of the commissioners. The statement of the recall committee, although it may be discounted as a partisan utterance, will serve nevertheless to bring out this possibility of the recall. From the *Journal*, Atlanta, Georgia, January 5:

"The Atlanta newspapers have succeeded in convincing the majority of the voters that the seven commissioners stand for law, decency, and order. We are especially pleased at the editorial statements of the three newspapers that the segregated district shall never be opened."

SANDUSKY, OHIO

The city manager plan went into operation in Sandusky, Ohio, the first of the year. The commission of five members had scarcely organized before a split disclosed itself. There is little doubt but that the split was due to the fact that Commissioner Stubig and Commissioner Graefe were the representatives, in fact the leaders of two contending factions. The struggle opened over the election of the president of the commission. It was at this time that Stubig won the support of Commissioner Koegele, who was elected president of the commission, and thus secured control of a majority of the commission. The first climax in the conflict between Stubig and Graefe was reached when the majority of the commission ousted Auditor-treasurer Cheney from office. Thereupon the two minority commissioners Graefe and Mitchell in a signed statement published in all the newspapers advocated the recall of the entire commission on the ground that its lack of harmony was seriously hampering the proper administration of public affairs.

The two daily papers pushed the movement for the recall of the entire commission. The basis of their attack was that the commission was out of joint with itself as demonstrated by the fact that the vote on every important question was three to two, and that the majority of the commission had subverted the charter by introducing politics. They had removed the auditor-treasurer, an expert called in from the outside, before he had been given sufficient time to prove his merit in order to put in his place one of their own friends. They had in order to build up patronage seriously hampered the city manager in his appointments even to the extent of dictating the appointment of his stenographer.

Stubig's Weekly which represents the majority of the commission replied to these charges with vigor and no little feeling. It charged that the whole recall movement was a conspiracy on the part of the two minority commissioners in coalition with certain powerful clubs of the city and the two daily newspapers to gain control of the city administration by means of a new election. It justified the dismissal of the auditor-treasurer on the ground that he was an expert accountant who knew nothing of municipal affairs. It stated that the city manager, whom they had secured from the outside in order that he might make fair and impartial appointments, had upon coming to Sandusky lodged at one of the clubs

where he fell in with a society out of sympathy with the ideals of the people, and had without consulting the commissioners made his appointments on the recommendations of this society. It was, consequently, the imperative duty of the commission to supervise his appointments. The commission, not its hired appointees, was on trial before the people.

The recall movement, if it may be termed such, initiated by the two minority commissioners, spent itself in mutual recriminations and threats. Commissioner Stubig, however, did get under way a real movement to recall minority Commissioner Graefe, at least preliminary petitions are being circulated among the south and west end residents. It is doubtful whether the petition will receive sufficient signatures since Commissioner Graefe "is a prominent man and a banker who is greatly feared in politics."

It is difficult to evaluate the recall in a situation such as exists at Sandusky. That city is torn apart by bitter factions, and the chief issue is one of personalities rather than of efficient, serviceable government. The recall, like every other instrument of government, can be used as a weapon in a factional conflict, and as such it is neither more nor less legitimate than any other instrument of government. The recall did not introduce confusion into the municipal politics of Sandusky. It is doubtful whether it is able to dispel any of the confusion. The electorate could make use of it to oust its "wrangling" politicians. One of the factions could make use of it to defeat its opponents. The real crux of the matter here, as always, is the level of public opinion.

PUBLIC EXPEDIENCY

The recall was designed, according to some of its most able defenders, to put the removal of public officials upon the grounds of public expediency as contrasted with the previous "due process" removal procedure where (legal) cause had to be shown. The question at once arises—what constitutes public expediency? And the answer seems to be that public expediency is that which the public think is expedient. This is not a mere quirk for we have introduced in the answer the think element—public opinion. Translated into the terms of practice removal for public expediency means removal any time a majority of the electorate, or of those voting at an election decide to remove an official, or are persuaded to so decide to leave open a loop hole for some kind of leadership. Efficiency, economy, serviceableness are terms which have fairly definite connotations as standards for judging a city administration. Experts can put content into these standards by devising ways and means for obtaining efficient, economic service, but there must needs be some kind of a force back of these ways and means to make possible their realization. This brings us again to public opinion. In the last analysis public opinion is both the force which decides the expediency of the removal and the force which sets the standards for testing this expe-

diency. If an active group, or a single leader, can persuade the majority of the electorate, or the majority of those who see fit to vote at an election, that it is expedient for them ("the public") to recall an official, then we must frankly admit that the recall has properly fulfilled its political function of removal on the grounds of public expediency.

This paper which is devoted to a description of some recent uses of the recall in municipalities will not attempt any discussion of the recall from the viewpoint of its relation to public opinion on the one hand, and the "reform" elements and the "reactionary" elements on the other hand. It was thought desirable, however, to call attention to this phase of the recall especially as the recent use of it in Oakland, California, and Nashville, Tennessee, emphasizes some of the possibilities of this process of removal on the ground of public expediency.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

On January 1, 1916, Commissioner-mayor John L. Davie and Commissioners Jackson and Edwards took office in Oakland, California. They were elected as a "reform" administration and their campaign had been supported by the citizens' and taxpayers' league. Commissioners Baccus and Anderson were left over from the old administration as their terms of office had not expired. Attempts were made by the taxpayers' league in March and July of the preceding year to recall these two commissioners, both of which failed to result in an election. It was rumored at the time when the three new commissioners took office that they would circulate petitions for the recall of Commissioners Baccus and Anderson. The reformers, however, were apparently satisfied with their majority of one, and any contemplated use of the recall died with the rumor.

March and April 1916 saw the rise and fall of a recall movement which for a time threatened to turn out of office the entire commission. The jitney bus was the *casus belli*. In January the commission had passed the so called jitney bus ordinance which "prohibited jitneys from the business district, where congestion existed, set apart a safety zone" and "provided more stringent rules for insurance to protect passengers and public from injury to person and property." This ordinance was passed by the votes of Commissioners Davie (Mayor), Edwards, Baccus, and Anderson, and it was against these four commissioners that William Mitchell, an officer of the chauffeurs' union, and various jitney bus drivers filed affidavits of intention to circulate petitions.

The interest of the group opposed to the jitney bus ordinance is clear. The ordinance had so restricted the jitney business as to cut deeply into its profits and had to that extent been an aid to its competitor, the traction company. Their one ground for the recall of the commissioners was the fact that they had voted for the ordinance. There was no other charge. If this group had secured sufficient strength to remove the officials it would be difficult to see wherein the recall had not fulfilled its

function of removal on the ground of public expediency. Yet the newspapers criticized as illegitimate and vicious this use of the recall. *The Tribune* in an editorial, March 16, stated:

Thus the recall, devised and created by the people to safeguard them against misuse of authority and maladministration of office, has been taken up as a club to coerce action in favor of certain interests. . . . If the recall is adopted to further private interests it will very shortly be classed with the corrupt instruments so often alleged to be used by big corporations. When that occurs it will have outlived its usefulness and will be a thing condemned.

Mayor Davie, speaking for the four commissioners, stated that the ordinance was in accord with the sentiment of the voters as expressed in the vote on jitney regulation May 1, 1915. He held that the passage of the ordinance put the jitney question before the voters, and that the controversy could be settled more honestly by an initiative than by a recall.

The filing (March 14) of a declaration by Dr. Mabel E. Anthony of intention to circulate petitions for the recall of Commissioner of Public Health and Safety Jackson brought the remaining commissioner under the threat of recall procedure, thus providing for a clean sweep of the city council. The principal charge brought against Commissioner Jackson was that while he had been elected with Commissioners Davie and Edwards to bring about certain municipal reforms, he had at the first opportunity deserted them for the two minority commissioners "whose previous course had made reforms necessary and whose ill conduct in office he was elected to amend."

The whole recall movement collapsed in April with the settlement of the jitney cases, about 200 in number, which were dismissed by the court on the agreement of the jitney men to operate only in the streets allowed by the commission.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

In Nashville, Tennessee, we have a situation which illustrates in a rather striking way the two edged possibility of the recall. In this city there is working side by side the recall removal and the "due process" removal. The latter is embodied in the so called ouster bill which was passed by the state legislature in 1915 and which provides that a city official may be convicted of non-feasance or mis-feasance in office in a court action brought by a state's attorney and that on conviction he shall be removed. This law was passed to overcome the non enforcement through the inaction of city officials of the state-wide prohibition law, which had been forced upon the larger cities by the rural members of the legislature.

During the summer of 1915 the recall provisions of the city charter were for the first time made use of and a petition directed against Commissioner-mayor H. E. Howse and a number of the members of his ad-

ministration was circulated and was signed by the required 25 per cent of the electors. The supreme court, however, held that a petition directed against more than one official was illegal, that there must be a separate petition for each official. Thereafter the ouster bill was successfully invoked through proceedings instituted by taxpayers against the officials in question and their "due process" removal thereby accomplished. It seems also that there had been gross dishonesty in the handling of the city's financial affairs.

There is competent local opinion to the effect that the faction lead by former Mayor Howse, a politician whose reputation is not of the best order, has the backing of the majority of the electorate. Whether this is the fact is about to be brought to the test by recall proceedings directed against one of the new commissioners who were elected to succeed the "ousted" members of the Howse administration. The petition for the recall of Commissioner Treanor was filed on the day the six month period of grace provided for in the charter had expired. The statement in the petition of the grounds for the recall contained the charges of incompetency, refusal to pay the salary earned by city officers or employes, and the use of office for patronage. The Howse faction is confident that the necessary number of signatures will be obtained, in which case the recall election will probably take place some time in July.

If Commissioner Treanor is recalled it will be a removal on the ground of public expediency, that is, a removal because the Howse faction is able to control a majority of the electorate. There is good reason to believe that the faction which invoked the ouster bill is probably in the minority in Nashville. It succeeded because the officials in office had refused to obey the state laws. It secured the removal of officials whom it deemed undesirable by a "due process" procedure. After a lapse of six months the faction which is probably in the majority becomes active again and appears to be on the verge of having a recall election to dispose of one of its rivals.

This use of ouster proceedings against a "corrupt" administration and of recall proceedings against a "reform" administration is an interesting commentary upon the views of those who hold that the recall possesses some kind of an inherent reform nature. It is after all but a mechanistic device being in itself neither good nor evil, another method by which group conflicts may adjust themselves. The situation in Nashville, no matter how it works itself out, is neither a case for nor against the recall. The problem of efficient, servicable government lies deeper than the mere machinery through which it operates. It has its roots in the underlying group conflicts.

RECENT CITY PLAN REPORTS

BY CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON

Rochester, N. Y.

WHEN the war in Europe broke out and American cities were suddenly unable to sell their bonds, it was supposed that the practice of city planning had received in the United States a check hardly less definite than that which it had suffered abroad. But the "come back" in American finance showed itself nowhere more clearly than in the market for municipal securities, and the last year, marked as it has been by wars and rumors of war, has seen the river of American city planning literature flowing at flood height.

This series of annual reviews¹ is fortunately limited to "reports"—to that output which is called "fugitive" as compared to the volumes which bear the imprint of well known publishers, and whose writers are real "authors." Yet some of these fugitive reports, by reason of their size, matter, and permanency, belong in the book class, just as some books prove only fugitive; and the reviewer, with three dozen accumulated on his table in the year, finds his task a formidable one.

The most elaborate single publication of the year, among city plan reports, is Dr. Hegemann's "Report on a City Plan for the Municipalities of Oakland and Berkeley."² Detroit, Newark, New York, Philadelphia and St. Louis, however, each present a number of studies, carefully made, that cover different phases of their special city planning problem and make, between them, in each case, an important contribution. In addition to these, there have come isolated reports from other cities on the aspects of the city plan that are locally pressing—so continuing the tendency noted last year, of dividing the city plan study into sections instead of attempting to include the whole of it in one report; and then an increasing number of "annual" reports from planning boards—in pursuance of the tendency noted two years ago and that was emphasized again last summer.

It may be, perhaps, something more than a curious coincidence that the most sumptuously published of the city plan reports is this year, as it was last year, written by a foreigner; that it is not an American whose

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. ii, p. 160; vol. iii, p. 539; vol. iv, p. 383.

² Report on a City Plan for the Municipalities of Oakland and Berkeley. By Werner Hegemann, Ph.D. Prepared and published under the auspices of the municipal governments of Oakland and Berkeley, the supervisors of Alameda county, the chamber of commerce and commercial club of Oakland, the civic art commission of Berkeley and the city club of Berkeley. 1915.

study is so confidently presented to the public, as comprising all there is to say on the subject. A year ago the foreigner was an Englishman; this time he is a German. Americans must grant, however, that the report is again of great excellence—surprising in its combination of breadth of scope and thoroughness of treatment. This Oakland and Berkeley report represents some two years of careful work.

OAKLAND'S PLAN

Following a preface by Dr. Frederic C. Howe, and a long introduction by Dr. Hegemann, there is substituted for the usual table of contents a discussion of the structural rank of the different elements in a city plan. Considering first the city economic, and then the city recreational and beautiful, the subjects are arranged by Dr. Hegemann in the following order:

1. Harbor.
2. Railroads.
 - a. Freight.
 - b. Passenger.
 - (a) Long distance.
 - (b) Suburban and urban.
3. Streets.
 - a. Main traffic streets.
 - b. Business streets.
 - c. Residential streets.
 - (a) Expensive.
 - (b) Inexpensive.
4. Parks and playgrounds.
5. Civic art, civic centers.

Under each of these headings, there is a discussion of general principles, and then the application of these principles to local conditions. It need hardly be said that the text is full of valuable suggestions. Its most serious lack is inspirational quality—perhaps inevitably, since its author is writing in a foreign tongue, though he does this with great facility—and the length of the text is such that one can anticipate little general use of it except for reference. But that may be, in the long run, the best possible use of it, and the admirable index will facilitate such use. Yet, there doubtless is some loss in the fact that citizens are not likely to read the report through. For this Dr. Hegemann is not wholly responsible, the choice of type having been most unfortunate, a black face that makes every word emphatic being very wearisome. The illustrations, though they include no large maps, are many and excellent—really of great value; there are copious references; and there are long quotations from, and generous tributes to, the two Americans who had made studies of the region prior to Dr. Hegemann's coming.

BRANTFORD, CANADA

Next after Dr. Hegemann's study, the most pretentious of the recent comprehensive city planning reports is, curiously, that for the city of Brantford, Ontario, made by H. B. and L. A. Dunington-Grubb, landscape architects of Toronto.³ This report, though addressed to the parks commission, is in fact a general city plan study. It is very attractively issued; and maps, plans and photographs occupy an appropriate, but not too conspicuous, place in it.

The authors themselves present their report modestly enough. They call it "preliminary" and declare their suggestions "merely tentative," pointing out that the preparation of an authoritative plan for a city is a work "of very great magnitude," to be undertaken only by a commission possessing permanency and having large powers. Following the introduction, they divide their report into two main parts: A survey of existing conditions, both physical and economic; and the proposals for improvement. The latter deal with the street system, the park system, including playgrounds, the market, housing and methods of procedure.

An interesting feature of the report is the publication at the end of the book of a letter from Thomas Adams, town planning adviser for the dominion, commending the study and emphasizing certain parts of it. A suggestion which Mr. Adams makes is that, since "it is possible that at this critical time" there may be need of avoiding expenditure on new and expensive schemes of improvement, emphasis may well be placed on those suggestions which look to preventive measures rather than on those which contemplate large expense for reconstruction. This is a "rainy day" suggestion which cities on this side of the border may well keep in mind—that merely because there is no money to spend, a city does not have to deny itself all the advantages of city planning.

LAWRENCE, MASS., AND PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

In modest paper bound pamphlets, which offer, considering their sources, striking contrast to the foregoing reports, are city planning studies for Lawrence, Mass.,⁴ and the preliminary suggestions for Pasadena, California⁵—the only other published reports of the year that pretend to comprehensiveness. The Lawrence studies are by Arthur Coleman Comey, and are printed in the second annual report of the Lawrence planning board. In presenting them, the board describes the work as "comprehensive and very valuable," "covering the entire city and the immediately adjacent portions of our suburbs, Methuen and

³ City of Brantford, Ontario. Preliminary report to the parks commission on future development and improvement. By H. B. and L. A. Dunington-Grubb. December, 1914.

⁴ City of Lawrence, Mass. Second annual report of the planning board: Lawrence city planning studies. By Arthur Coleman Comey. April, 1915.

⁵ Some preliminary suggestions for a Pasadena plan. Woman's civic league, Pasadena, Cal. 1915.

Andover," and as laying down "the broad foundation lines along which the development of Lawrence should proceed."

Mr. Comey himself describes the work as consisting of four studies, embodying the results of a three months' investigation. Chapter I is a program of procedure, designed to guide the work of the board; chapter II considers the main features of a thoroughfare system; chapter III is devoted to recreation facilities, and chapter IV comprises an intensive study for the treatment of the Spicket River—a feature of the city plan which may be carried out at once. Though the pamphlet is illustrated by a number of photographs, the fifteen diagrams and plans which are listed as accompanying the original report are, unfortunately, not reproduced. A feature of the "studies" which has particular general value is an analysis or summary of the data that should be embraced in a civic survey. The thoroughness of this tabulation may be gauged by the fact that it fills more than twenty printed pages.

The Pasadena suggestions consist of two addresses by Dean George A. Damon, of Throop college, who, it appears, asked that the suggestions be "not approved, but improved." The pamphlet is illustrated with plans and drawings, of which those for the "four corners competition" and for a social and educational center are of most interest outside of Pasadena.

Turning now to those groups of reports, with which various cities, since the publication of the last review, have discussed the phases of the city plan problem that were locally pressing, we may take the cities alphabetically.

DETROIT

From Detroit, where the National Conference on City Planning met a year ago, four reports have come. All of these are issued by the city plan and improvement commission, two reports from whom were included in last year's tabulation. The first is a revision, dated December, 1914, of T. Glenn Phillips's report on city-tree planting.⁶ It is a brief, practical, suggestive discussion, of which the value is by no means limited to Detroit. Several simple diagrams add to the forcefulness of the text. Another pamphlet issued by the commission is entitled "Conditions in Detroit—1915."⁷ This contains Frederick Law Olmsted's report of "a rapid examination of Belle Isle park, the circuit of boulevards and certain minor parks." The purpose in retaining Mr. Olmsted, it is stated, was to secure the fresh impressions of a suitably trained outsider, who should "apply to the present condition of the Detroit parks an appreciatively critical eye, unfamiliar with the exact steps by which that condition has

⁶ City Tree Planting: The selection, planting and care of trees along city thoroughfares. By T. Glenn Phillips. Detroit city plan and improvement commission. Report No. 1, revised. December, 1914.

⁷ Together with a report made by Professor Olmsted to the Detroit board of commerce in 1905. June, 1915.

been attained and with the particular obstacles which have stood in the way of still further excellence," in the belief that such comments might be—as doubtless they proved—of great value.

A third report from the Detroit commission is entitled "Preliminary Plan of Detroit."⁸ This is a study by Edward H. Bennett, with a beautiful frontispiece in color of the proposed new bridge to Belle Isle. The scant text of this report is supplemented by reproductions of a number of plans and diagrams. The large pages, glazed paper, and many photographic reproductions of plans makes this much the handsomest publication of the Detroit series. It represents city planning in "the grand manner."

The fourth report is a discussion of suburban planning.⁹ This is based on the foregoing preliminary plan but is by A. C. Comey. The report contains five main heads. Under the first, entitled "surveys," there is consideration of the engineering requirements for an intelligent study of suburban tendencies and possibilities. The second takes up the general scheme of streets and parkways, and their differentiation according to use. The third section considers blocks and lots; the fourth, public lands; and the fifth, control. Several interesting diagrams illustrate the report.

It is clear that in the aggregate these four studies give to Detroit a more thorough discussion of the local city planning problem than is contained in many of the more pretentious single volumes which other cities have put out.

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

Newark also, in recognition of the magnitude of true city planning, has been willing to authorize the preparation of a series of separate reports. Some of other years have been already mentioned in these reviews. This year's include the report in pamphlet form of both the real estate committee¹⁰ and the committee on streets and highways,¹¹ for the conference on interurban improvement that was held by Newark and its adjacent communities. The latter report with its two dozen maps—of which some of the folded-in ones are very large and elaborate—is of special value.

A public recreation system is the subject which a third pamphlet discusses.¹² This contains "the suggestions and recommendations" of the city plan commission, but handles its big subject briefly.

⁸ Preliminary Plan of Detroit. By Edward H. Bennett. Together with sketch plans for a new bridge to Belle Isle by Cass Gilbert, architect, Barclay, Parsons & Klapp, engineers. 1915.

⁹ May, 1915.

¹⁰ Conference on inter-urban improvement of Newark and adjacent municipalities. Report of the real estate committee. October 14, 1914. Published by the city plan commission.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Report of the committee on streets and highways. January 27, 1915. Published by the city plan commission.

¹² A Public Recreation System for Newark: suggestions and recommendations by the city plan commission. 1915.

The fourth publication, "Comprehensive Plan of Newark,"¹³ is a volume of nearly two hundred pages, profusely illustrated with maps, plans and valuable photographs, representative in its text of modern methods in city planning, and full of good ideas and suggestions. Put out by the city plan commission, the men especially responsible for it are F. J. Keer, of the commission, Harland Bartholomew who was then secretary of the commission, and John C. Dana of the public library—whose name does not appear. The plan represents the result of three and a half years' effort.

Following an introduction, the text of the Newark plan is divided into four parts. The first considers streets, transportation and markets; the second concerns itself with parks, recreation, and civic beauty; the third has to do with housing and the public control of private development; the fourth with metropolitan planning and a program of work. A novel feature of this portion of the report is a chronological and financial program, marking off the next fifty years into five-year periods, and indicating just what may be done in each. The scope and comprehensiveness of the plan, the thoroughness of the study upon which each recommendation has been based, the clarity with which it is all illustrated or explained, and the large amount already done toward the realization of the Newark plan, give to this report an unusual value to the student of city planning.

NEW YORK CITY

New York City's contributions to city planning literature in the last few months are only two, but they are of great importance. The first, which is issued in book form, is a report on the development and present status of city planning in New York City, to which have been added pertinent papers presented at a meeting of the advisory committee on city plan.¹⁴ The whole makes a very complete history of the movement in New York, to which many maps, plans, diagrams and photographs give an added value. The other recent contribution from New York City is the tentative report of the commission on building districts and restrictions¹⁵—which, for the brief time it has been out, has had probably more discussion, with generally favorable comment, than any other report that has been issued on a single aspect of city planning. Its arguments and conclusions form the basis of the proposed districting system of New York City—a system which, if put successfully into effect, is going to have an immense influence on city planning throughout the United States.

¹³ December 31, 1915.

¹⁴ "Development and Present Status of City Planning in New York City." Being the report of the committee on the city plan, December 31, 1914, together with papers presented at a meeting of the advisory commission on city plan, December 17, 1914. City of New York, Board of Estimate and Apportionment, Committee on the City Plan. 1914.

¹⁵ City of New York, Board of Estimate and Apportionment. March 10, 1916.

PHILADELPHIA

From Philadelphia there are four pamphlets. The first is the report of the bureau of surveys¹⁶—one of the few annual city plan reports that is always of interest and value, because of the practicalness of text and illustrations. Under the title of “one year’s progress,” the brief discussion of general planning is supplemented by records of the work done by the bureau during the calendar year of 1914 in bridge and sewer construction, in grade crossing removal, and in various other directions. A second pamphlet comes from another city department—that of transit.¹⁷ This contains the formal statement of the director, A. Merritt Taylor, to the state public service commission, in behalf of the city’s application with reference to the municipal construction of certain subway and elevated structures. The statement is clear and strong, and though strictly local in subject, use is made of interesting comparisons. The third and fourth reports come from still another branch of the Philadelphia city government. This is the permanent committee on comprehensive plans. One is the annual report for the calendar year 1914. To the record of the year’s accomplishments, the secretary appends recommendations of which the application is by no means limited to Philadelphia. The other is a report on the proposition of a central traffic circuit.¹⁸ The arguments in behalf of this important and comparatively new device in city planning are here put forward in a most interesting and convincing way.

As was observed in the case of Detroit, these four studies provide the city from which they come with a more thorough discussion of the practical problems of city planning than is contained in many a handsomely issued single report.

(To be concluded in the October issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW)

¹⁶ The Record of One Year’s Progress . . . And a Look Ahead: Annual report of the bureau of surveys of Philadelphia for the year ending December 31, 1911.

¹⁷ Statement of A. Merritt Taylor, director of the department of city transit, City of Philadelphia, submitted to the public service commission of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg, July 26, 1915, in support of application of the City of Philadelphia for a certificate, or certificates, of public convenience with relation to the construction by the city of certain subway and elevated railway structures. Department of city transit, July 26, 1915.

¹⁸ Report on the Proposition of a Central Traffic Circuit. By the permanent committee on comprehensive plans. Department of public works, Philadelphia, 1915.

PROGRESS OF THE CIVIC AND SOCIAL SURVEY IDEA¹

BY MURRAY GROSS

Philadelphia

IN THE cure of disease and physical disorders, a careful physician first makes an accurate diagnosis. In many instances this enables him to use preventive measures that avert an acute or chronic state in an ailment, and makes it possible for him to advise a plan of living which will insure normal health and efficiency.

In attempting to arrange a program which may insure to a community health, efficiency, and successful development, a "social diagnosis" is equally essential. Existing conditions must be known and understood before wise alleviative and corrective measures are possible. That a principle so elementary and yet so important as the foregoing should have been so long disregarded, or only fitfully recognized, in efforts at social, economic, and governmental improvement, is a striking evidence of the shortsighted vision which distorted such undertakings.

In the affairs of many an American community, the actual foundation that exists upon which to rest a program of correction and improvement hardly extends beyond a map of the community in the clerk's office, perhaps a chart of the water work system at a pumping station, or a diagram of new plottings in the hands of the surveyor. The taxpayer is ignorant of the bonded indebtedness of his community, and of the percentage spent for schools, public safety, or public works. Under many circumstances, he knows little about the condition of the source of his water and food supply. He pays taxes to maintain the community jail and garbage disposal plant, but is entirely ignorant of their condition and their yearly expense. It is this ignorance and this indifference that causes much of the waste of efforts and revenue in our American communities, and demands systematic efforts toward correction.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

It was essentially this point of view that led a group of public spirited citizens in 1907-08 to undertake the now famous study of the social, economic and civic conditions in the city of Pittsburgh as a basis for formulating suggestions and recommendations for correcting shortcomings and

¹ See article by Prof. Gross entitled "Civic and Social Surveys and Community Efficiency," vol. iii, p. 726.

controlling future development.² This survey of Pittsburgh marks the beginning of a methodical solution of community problems that promises well for the future. The value and force of the survey as "an investigation of local life in process, in a given area, at a given time, of a given subject field broad enough so that each factor entering into it may be investigated inductively as distinct from a piece of surface skimming" is now recognized. In a recent bulletin³ of the Russell Sage Foundation library over 300 titles are included in its list of social survey studies made since the initial Pittsburgh survey. It is notable that in 1909 hardly a dozen had appeared; in 1912, over fifty were made; while during the past year, 1915, the number published rose to over a hundred. Fortunately, too, of the total number 34 deal with the technique, scope and methods of survey making. Taken as a whole, this body of survey literature, rapidly increasing from year to year, constitutes an invaluable fund of scientific data of the highest importance in the solution of the civic, social and economic affairs of not only the immediate community whose life and problems are specifically set forth, but also of other communities confronted by similar ones.

That the result of surveys and the accompanying recommendations should be made as widely available as possible is obvious. In a brochure entitled the "Collection of Social Survey Material," Florence Curtis, of the University of Illinois library school, points out that the public library is especially in a favorable situation to give intelligent service in this direction, and submits an outline for the collection and arrangement of such material so that it may be accessible to the citizen, social worker, and the public official.

While private individuals and special agencies and commissions from time to time have made comprehensive and excellent surveys of various communities and fields of investigation, special coherence has been given the survey movement by the department of surveys and exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, under the direction of Shelby M. Harrison, and the New York bureau of municipal research, under the present direction of Frederick A. Cleveland. The former has adopted as its particular aim the use of the survey as a means of educating the public in regard to its own shortcomings and needs; the latter adapts the survey particularly to the needs of public and administrative officials.

THE SPRINGFIELD GENERAL SURVEY

Among the surveys of 1915, the survey of Springfield (Ill.) made by the Russell Sage Foundation department of surveys is conspicuous for its suc-

² See Proceedings of The Pittsburgh Conference for Good City Government, 1907, p. 22.

³ The Social Survey: A Bibliography, Russell Sage Foundation Library, December, 1915.

cessful realization of its purpose not only to present facts about the community, but to present the facts in such a way that they may rouse the citizen into active support of measures designed to correct faults. In order that it may make an emphatic appeal to as many groups of interests as possible, the survey is issued in pamphlet form, phrased in exceedingly readable language, and well enforced by charts, maps, and diagrams. The complete survey includes nine pamphlets, two of which are still in process of publication.

The first section of the Springfield survey deals with the public schools, and was carried out under the direction of L. P. Ayres. It analyses the character and efficiency of the board of education; the school plant; the condition of the school children; the efficiency of the teaching force; the quality of the class room instruction; the suitability of the course of study; the character of the financial administration; the medical inspection of the school children; problems of the junior high and the senior high schools; vocational education; and educational extension.

The second one covers the care of mental defectives and the insane. W. S. Threadway, who directed it, gave his attention to answering the following questions and to solving the concomitant problems: what is the proportion of mental defectives; what is done in the public schools to detect abnormal mental conditions; what is being done in the public schools for the special training of children who are unable to make use of the same facilities as those of average mentality; what is being done for the mental defective in the community; what practical plans can be adopted for securing adequate care for the mentally defective in the school and in the community. In regard to the insane, the survey takes up the question of procedure and commitment; treatment of early cases of insane and those awaiting commitment in general hospitals; institutional provisions; parole; discharge and after care.

Section three, on recreation, by L. F. Hanmer and C. A. Perry, treats public concern in connection with recreation in the home, the schools, in the parks, in the streets, in the library, the museum, in athletics, festivals, pageants, public celebrations, and amusements of a commercialized character. The fourth, dealing with housing, by John Ihlder, dissects the problems of the multiple dwelling, water supply, garbage and refuse, sewerage, privies, land overcrowding, fire hazards, dark apartments, negro districts, city planning, and ideals of housing. The fifth, on public health, by Franz Schneider, Jr., covers the field of infant mortality, contagious diseases, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, purity of water supply, sewerage and sewage disposal, milk supply, food supply, and the public health service.

The sixth, on charities, by Francis H. McLean, handles the problems of children in institutions, the care of the sick, family disabilities and treatment, social agencies dealing with families. The seventh, on the

correctional system, by Zenas L. Potter, deals with the handling of adult offenders, the relation of fines, hours to leave town, suspended sentences, and probation, to community protection; the handling of juvenile delinquents; complaints against children; juvenile probation work; and the police department and police policy. The other two, one on industrial conditions of the city, by D. O. Decker, and the other, the survey summed up by S. M. Harrison, are still in process of publication.

This Springfield group of social and economic studies of actual conditions, accompanied by remedial and correctional suggestions and recommendations, represents a summing up of affairs in an American city that is of the utmost interest and importance to other cities, especially to those with a population ranging from 40,000 to 150,000. In general, the questions met in Springfield are a good deal the same as those of other cities of similar size and situation, and conclusions reached concerning the problems of this city are applicable elsewhere.

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATIVE SURVEYS

Among the surveys of the New York bureau of municipal research are several notable government and administrative studies. In commenting upon its own activities, the bureau in one of its reports explains that it gives consideration to three main factors when surveying the administrative affairs of a government. First, it studies the existing organization and methods; second, it makes a critical appraisal thereof; and third, it makes constructive suggestions for corrections. However, the bureau does not deem it necessary to include much descriptive matter because its reports are prepared for and submitted directly to the public officials themselves who are assumed to be conversant with existing conditions. The searchlight of investigation that the bureau throws upon a governmental administration and organization permits little to remain in darkness, and its findings and recommendations should constitute a program of improvement characterized by continuity of plan and method. This will in a measure counteract the interruptions occasioned by changes in government and administrations, a feature of American governmental conditions somewhat unfortunate. Unhappily most of the surveys of the bureau seem to be published under the auspices of the persons, agencies, or governments, that have secured the services of the bureau, and therefore its important investigations and findings are not as conveniently available for the benefit of other communities as might be desirable.

Among the activities of the New York bureau, are complete surveys of Buffalo, Rochester, Norfolk, Stamford, Conn., Monroe Co., N. Y.; a survey of taxation, indebtedness, and accounting methods of New Orleans; and a survey of the organization and function of Nassau Co., N. Y.⁴ In

⁴ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, pp. 153 and 358.

addition to this list should be added administrative studies of New York state work including conditions of New York state sinking funds; salary conditions for the civil service commission of the state senate; state charitable institutions; state prison department; health officer of the port of New York; port wardens of the port of New York; state budget; constitution and government of the state of New York covering standards for the appraisalment of the present constitution and government; constitutional and statutory provisions governing the electorate; the official personnel; the structure of government, and the powers, duties, and limitations of its officers; organization and procedure of the legislature; constitutional provisions defining the relations of the legislature and the executive; the independent auditor; the governor and the administration; organization for the administration of the state's proprietary and other general functions; organization for the administration of military functions of the state government; organization for the administration of the public service functions; and the content and form of the constitution.

Of these surveys several notable ones have appeared in print and may be secured from the local authorities. These include exhaustive studies of Buffalo and Rochester, N. Y., Stamford, Conn., and Norfolk, Va., concerning elections, budget methods, supply purchases, license procedure, assessments and taxation, administration of public safety, traffic, building, sanitation, arrest of intoxicants, suppression of vice, police court conditions, pension funds, fire prevention, communicable disease prevention, milk and meat inspection, relief of the poor, street cleaning, collection and disposal of refuse, street lighting, water supply, civil service, standards of compensation, and systems of civil service promotion. In the recommendations of the bureau, care is taken to subdivide them into two classes: those which can be made effective without change of the present governmental powers; and those which require amendment of the existing powers and organization.

INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION SURVEYS

Among the special subject surveys made during 1915 is to be found the vocational education survey of Richmond, Va., made under the auspices of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education and published as a bulletin of the federal bureau of labor statistics. In undertaking the survey, the national society announced as its aim first, to prove the necessity of a knowledge of industrial and school conditions in the making of a program for industrial education in a city; second, to show the kind of facts about industry and about the schools which need to be gathered to develop a proper method for studying the industries and the schools for the purpose of industrial education; third, to secure the co-operation of national and local public and private agencies in the

making of a type survey. The first part of this survey deals with the public school problem of Richmond, and thoroughly deals with the problems of public school enrollment; children in private and parochial schools; school attendance; compulsory education; prohibition of child labor; ages and grades of withdrawal from school; part time schooling of young people at work; wages of young people at work; occupational choice of young people; present status of technical and vocational education; and financial support of the public schools. The second division of the survey analyses the industrial situation of Richmond with respect to vocational preparation of the wage-earners covering the printing, building, and metal trades, women and girls in retail stores, and workers in the tobacco industries. The survey considers the hours of work; regularity of employment; age at beginning work; apprenticeship; misfits in trades; physical and nervous strain of occupations; occupational diseases; adequacy of shop instruction; educational courses taken since leaving school; part time courses desired by workers; suggestions as to subjects to be taught for the trades; skilled and unskilled work; promotion; problem of financing vocational work; types of schools and courses of study for boys and men as well as for girls and women; prevocational education; and the place of private institutions in the general plan of education.

Another important survey is the vocational section of the industrial survey of Cincinnati made under the auspices of the Cincinnati chamber of commerce. The portion of the survey now in published form deals with the printing trades. In the survey in general is emphasized the aim to collect information that may assist the public schools in better training the working people of the city. The survey deals with the problem of securing data; what workers need to know before entering the industry; what schools fail to accomplish; opinions of employers as to what schools can do; how the shops train beginners; the shop school; the New Haven system; the Philadelphia system; co-operation and continuation versus the trade schools; equipment of schools; training for compositors, pressmen, and journeymen; attitude of the unions; and the qualification of the teacher.

VILLAGE AND RURAL SURVEYS

In the field of village and rural surveys, especially interesting is the social and economic survey of a community in northeastern Minnesota,⁵ by Gustav P. Warber, published as a bulletin of the University of Minnesota. It represents a continuation of an undertaking started in 1913, and as the author states, "This survey, and the one taken simultaneously in the Red River valley, differs from that previously published in that an attempt has been made to include both a farming and a village community

⁵ The village of Braham and the adjoining territory of Isanti, Chisago, Pine, and Kanabec counties.

instead of a farming community alone. A village has been selected as the center of economic activities, *i.e.*, the territory which uses the village both as a shipping point and as a place to buy supplies and professional services. In this way, it has been intended not only to bring out a comparison between life on the farm and life in a small village, but also to bring out the economic interdependence of one on the other." The survey has carefully analysed the problems of agricultural development; farm labor; marketing of products; roads and markets; purchase of goods; farmers' co-operative activities; local government; taxes and cost of local government; educational activities; religious activities; possibilities of rural life; recreation and social life; and conclusions.

Another of the same type as the foregoing is a social survey of three rural townships in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, conducted by the Rev. J. M. Hayman, under the supervision of the Episcopal diocese of Pennsylvania. Its findings are especially interesting from the point of view of the work of the church in rural communities. The conclusions of Bishop Rhinelander of Pennsylvania expressed in a foreword emphasize the importance of a community house. With this equipment much may be done by the church to influence and stimulate the social, domestic, economic and intellectual life of the people.

The surveys referred to in the course of this article are taken to illustrate the work that is being done to base programs of reform, readjustment and correction upon exact knowledge of existing conditions instead of upon the old haphazard foundation of blind groping in the shadows of assumption and misinformation. The old aphorism, "man, know thyself," might be appropriately broadened in thought so as to read, "community, know thyself!"⁶

⁶ The following is a supplemental list of social and civic survey studies made during the year, 1915:

Purpose and Method of City Surveys: Purpose and benefit of social surveys, by F. W. Blackmar. Community survey in relation to church efficiency, by C. E. Carrol. The way to win, by F. B. Fisher. The social survey and its further development, by J. L. Gillin. School surveys, by L. P. Ayres. Correctional reforms and correctional surveys, by Z. L. Potter.

General City and District Surveys: Reports of the bureau of social surveys, department of public welfare, Chicago. Coopersburg, Pa., survey, by T. M. Morrison. Social survey of Fargo, by the social science department, Fargo college, under M. C. Elmer. Report of a preliminary and general social survey of Pitcou, Canada. Report of a preliminary and general social survey of St. Catherine's, Canada. Satellite cities, by G. R. Taylor. A community study of a parish of the Brooklyn Clinton Avenue Congregational church.

Charities, Delinquency and Corrections: Survey of the charities and housing conditions of Burlington, Vt., by F. H. McLean. Survey of the relief agencies of Cleveland, Ohio, by S. C. Kingsley. Outdoor relief in Missouri, by G. A. Warfield. Function of a farm colony by the department of public welfare of Chicago. Report of the Chicago city council committee on crime, by C. E. Merriam. Study of the problem of girl

delinquency in New Haven, by M. A. Wiley. Mental defectives in the District of Columbia, by E. O. Lundberg.

Health: Public health administration in Chicago, by J. C. Perry. Preliminary report of the health survey of El Paso, Texas, by J. P. Rich. Housing health survey of El Paso, by J. H. Grossman. Public health administration in Illinois, by S. B. Grubbs. Sumner County, Kansas, sanitary and social survey, by the state board of health. Public health administration in Toledo, by Carrol Fox. Public health administration in the state of Washington, by Carrol Fox. Public health administration in West Virginia.

Housing: Housing survey in the Italian district of the 17th ward of Chicago, by the Chicago department of public welfare. Report on housing conditions in the Oranges, N. J., by E. R. Hall. Housing conditions among the negroes in Harlem, N. Y. C. Survey of housing conditions in Passaic, N. Y., by U. D. Brown. Study of housing and social conditions in selected districts in Philadelphia, by F. A. Craig. Housing conditions in Plainfield, N. J., by the Charity organization society.

Schools: Constructive survey of the public school system of Ashland, Ore., by F. C. Ayer. Special report of the Boise, Idaho, public schools, by E. C. Elliott. Report upon divisions 4 and 5 elementary schools of Brooklyn, by William McAndrews. Cleveland educational survey, by L. P. Ayres. Educational survey of Bulloch, Clayton, Taliaferro, Jackson, Morgan and Rabun counties, Georgia, by M. L. Duggan. Rural school system of Minnesota, by H. W. Foght. Summary of a survey of the school department of Oakland, Cal. Survey of schools of Ogden, Utah, by W. S. Deffenbaugh. Survey of schools of Portland, Ore., by E. P. Cubberley. Survey of the school system of Salt Lake City, by E. P. Cubberley. School system of San Antonio, Texas, by J. F. Bobbitt.

Recreation: Recreation in Charlotte, N. C., by I. G. Wright. Play and recreation in Ipswich, Mass., by H. R. Knight. Preliminary report of general need for extended use of public schools as social and community centers in Chicago, by Chicago department of public welfare.

Rural Surveys: Rural survey of Clark county, Georgia, with special reference to the Negroes. Economic and social surveys of Fulton and Bibb counties, Georgia, by E. C. Branson. Brief economic and social survey of Putnam county, Georgia, by E. C. Branson. Social and economic survey of a community in the Red River valley, by L. D. H. Weld.

Vice: Second report on vice conditions in the city of Lancaster. Report of vice commission of Lexington, Ky. Report of the survey made in Rockland county, N. Y. Brief survey and recommendations of the vice commission of Shreveport, La.

RECENT PROGRESS IN MUNICIPAL BUDGETS AND ACCOUNTS

BY C. E. RIGHTOR¹

Dayton, Ohio

AN ACCOUNTING system is supplementary to a general financial program of any government; it is only a means to an end, and not the end itself. For this reason no pronounced results for better methods may be noted in accounting alone, but the budget must receive our first consideration.

Dr. F. A. Cleveland, the foremost of our authorities upon the subject of budgets, defines the term thus:

A budget is a plan for financing an enterprise or government during a definite period, which is prepared and submitted by a responsible executive to a representative body (or duly constituted agent) whose approval and authorization are necessary before the plan may be executed.

Prof. A. R. Hatton states of the budget, in a recent number of *The Annals* devoted to this subject,² that it provides a means through which citizens may assure themselves that their effort which has been diverted to community ends is made to produce the maximum of results for the effort expended. He adds that it may be made one of the most potent instruments of democracy.

Government is a simple thing when viewed as a corporation existing only to perform certain services better done by community than by individual action. It is largely a business, to which business methods may be applied and the results be measured by certain standards. It is now accepted that one-half of good government is an interested and informed citizen body. Information can be obtained by the citizen and interest aroused through the furnishing of reports of real value, which are based upon a sound accounting procedure. What has been done by the government should be reflected in the records and reports; what is to be done by the government should be shown in the budget.

CITIZEN INTEREST IN GOVERNMENT INCREASING

There is apparent no radical departure from ordinary progress to be chronicled in reviewing the budget making and accounting methods of our cities. The dominant feature to be noted during recent years is the

¹Director, Dayton bureau of municipal research.

²*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November 1915, p. vii.

increasing interest being manifested by the citizens and by the business men in their government, in their desire to assume direction of the business of government which they have created for their own ends.

This public interest is not spasmodic, but it is a sincere and enduring one. It is due on the one hand to the increasing pressure of taxation, consequent to the assumption by the cities of an ever widening scope of activities, which in turn require additional money from the benefited for their performance. On the other hand, it is affected by a broader spirit of citizenship, which is developing throughout the country. This participation of the public in governmental affairs is a general one, and applies to national, state and local units. It is being realized that government cannot stand alone, but that it needs the quickening influence of an awakened public conscience. At the expense of years of inefficient and costly methods, the taxpayers are learning to substitute service for "politics."

Public opinion gains force and effectiveness through organization rather than disconcerted action. When sufficiently aroused, citizen interest takes definite form in the organization of a citizen agency. This agency finds that before it may serve as a medium of communication between the citizen and his government, and before it can secure the results desired, it must have fact-bases. Investigation is required to afford sound recommendations, and as a result the extensive progress being made in governmental affairs must be attributed largely to these civic agencies. It is necessary to review the work of these agencies, as well as the government itself, to find what steps have been taken to place government upon a higher plane. Their object is always a better government. They are variously known as bureaus of municipal research, institutes for public service, institutes for government research, civic or tax payers' associations, municipal leagues, etc. The number of these agencies is increasing and their influence for good government was never greater than to-day. Logically, they give no thought to whether the administration is a party one, but instead demand that it be measured in terms of effectiveness and whether the largest possibilities are being realized through economical and efficient expenditure of public funds.

NUMEROUS AGENCIES COMPILING VALUABLE STATISTICS

The bureau of the census compiles annually financial statistics of cities having population of over 30,000, and these afford much enlightenment to a student of municipal affairs. It is only regretted that these publications are not available many months earlier than is the case at present. These reports, while of course very detailed and complete, furnish the basis for desirable account keeping, in accordance with uniform classifications.

Many states have passed laws providing for the compilation of financial statistics of municipalities, and the reports of the Massachusetts bureau of statistics in this respect prove full of interesting information concerning the receipts, expenditures, public debt, and accounting features of its cities and towns. Diagrams showing the increase in public debt and the certification of notes are unusually striking. The publication of two Massachusetts laws shows that that state has been the pioneer in developing the executive budget and optional tax-limit law.

First steps in reorganizing state government have been taken in at least fourteen states, by the creation of committees or commissions on "economy and efficiency."³ Some of these institutions are permanent, but often they are temporary. Invariably they recommend, among things, a scientific budget system to control expenditures, as a part of their study of administrative organization. Unfortunately in some cases the necessary follow-up of these commission reports is not instituted, and they are lost in sub-committees of the legislature to whom they are referred. The constitutional convention of New York provided in the proposed new constitution a centralized control over appropriations in that state, but it was unsuccessful. An exhaustive study of the state government was made at that time by the New York bureau of municipal research.⁴

County governments have made but little improvement in finance methods in recent years, although New York and Indiana have laws prescribing some features of uniform budget estimates and appropriations. Westchester and Monroe counties, New York, afford examples of a modern county budgets.

IMPROVEMENT IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IS GENERAL

It is in the management of local affairs, however, that the most immediate influence of the citizen body is being felt, and to review the results of this contact for municipal betterment is the primary purpose of this article.

³ An interesting and important development is now in progress in Maryland, in which the methods of accounting of the state government have been incomplete and inaccurate for many years. After an investigation which established the fact of a deficiency in the general funds of the state, which was rapidly approaching \$2,000,000, the question of establishing budgetary procedure came to the front and was included in the platform declarations of both parties in the gubernatorial campaign in 1915. A "commission on economy and efficiency" was established with Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, president of Johns Hopkins University, as chairman, and Harvey S. Chase, C.P.A., of Boston, as expert examiner.

As one of the results the legislature has passed an act calling for a constitutional amendment in the form drawn up by this Commission which is intended to, and will provide for, real and effective budgetary procedure in the financial affairs of the state hereafter.

⁴ Government of the State of New York, 1915.

Results produced thus far are in different stages of advancement in different communities. What has been done, both within the government and without, in achieving responsible and representative control, through budgetary procedure and accounting and reporting methods?

Chief among the contributions for perfecting budgetary procedure during recent months is "Next Steps in Budget Procedure."⁵ Historically, it is to be noted that ten years ago appropriations were merely licenses to spend funds in amounts asked for by the department heads, without regard to actual needs. Later, appropriations were made according to classifications of functions or activities, and as to object of expenditure, and resulted in the highly segregated budget now found in New York City. The latest step, now proposed, is the lump sum appropriations for departments, with definite restrictions as to the manner in which the money is to be expended. One fundamental difference between the segregated budget and this new form is that the former was developed with the idea of preventing misuse of public funds, whereas the prevailing idea now is to direct and facilitate public business.

The proposed plan is to have the budget prepared in accordance with the scientific meaning of that document. It is designed to increase the effectiveness of legislative control over governmental policies and over revenues and expenditures, and at the same time leave independent the management of departmental affairs. A more complete document is contemplated, and is to consist of two parts,—first, a resolution establishing the revenue and operating policy for the next year; a "work program" indicating the activities to be performed or services to be rendered pursuant to appropriations; and an appropriation ordinance. The second part is to consist of supporting data showing the general financial condition of the city, by balance sheets, operation and debt statements, etc.

Supervision by the board of estimate is to be exercised through the work program, and through the allotment system of appropriations. Instead of detailed appropriations by functions, lump sums by objects of expenditure—salaries, wages, supplies, etc.—will be voted. As a part of the appropriation ordinance will be schedules of positions and salaries, and schedules of standard specifications for materials to be bought. To provide control over the functions and activities, work shall be done only in accordance with a work program previously approved by the board of estimate and apportionment. Further, department heads are responsible for voucher certification; audit by the comptroller is provided; and cost, stores and property records established. The value of a work program, enabling an understanding as to the quantities of work to be performed as a result of authorized expenditures, is a distinctly forward step. The success of the suggested plan depends upon the development and use of the accounts and reports, agencies of investigation and inspection, and

⁵ New York bureau of municipal research, January, 1915.

special advisory staffs established by the board of estimate. The bureau of standards, the bureau of contract supervision, and the bureau of municipal investigation and statistics have been established to provide the necessary information.

The program proposed was not adopted in the 1916 budget of New York City, but the proposals demand a full consideration. The 1916 budget is a segregated and functionalized one, the details requiring 494 pages, and it is apparent that a procedure which will allow of a complete financial program being presented to administrators and the public in a much condensed form will be welcomed.

It will be practical to attempt this program in one of our smaller cities, and it was thought that Springfield, Mass., which is giving much attention to improved budget methods under the supervision of the New York bureau, would adopt the plan this year. It may, however, be tried out at a later date. In its work on the budget, Springfield has issued several pamphlets of value.⁶ Explicit details to all officers for filling out the estimate sheets, in accordance with required classifications, are given. The annual budget is a complete document, giving details of receipts and appropriations, together with summary tables and other pertinent information in an intelligible and graphic style. Springfield's departmental budget sheets are to be based upon an expense basis, accountability for expenditure being thrown upon the heads of the departments. As is usual, the officers responsible for the effective working of this advanced plan are in entire accord with it.

TOO MANY CITY BUDGETS STILL INCOMPLETE

Too frequently the so-called budget of a city is in reality nothing more than an appropriation ordinance. Witness the published "budget" of San Francisco for the year 1915-1916. It is a very elementary document, affording inadequate details of the appropriations, without an uniform classification and showing nothing as to the manner of financing the appropriations, etc. As a result of the increase of governmental expense in that city, the California state tax association prepared an exhaustive report upon affairs there,⁷ concluding that more efficient management is necessary to cut the costs of operation sufficiently to save funds for the additional requirements. The reasons for inefficiency are shown, and the possible remedies suggested.

⁶ Directions for preparing the budget, from the office of the mayor, 1915; the annual budget, for both 1915 and 1916, published by the Springfield bureau of municipal research; report on present methods of budget making, Springfield bureau of municipal research, 1914.

⁷ The Problem of High Taxes in San Francisco, June, 1915.

PHILADELPHIA'S COMPLETE BUDGET PROCEDURE

Philadelphia enjoys one of the most complete accounting systems as a supplement to the budget procedure which is to be found. Expenditures are completely analyzed by fund, organization unit, function, character and object. The difficulties in this city are those of charter provisions, which reduce its effectiveness through a highly centralized executive organization, yet with the mayor unable to lead in securing measures for better administration because the controller is the only one who by charter is permitted to submit to the board of aldermen the estimates and no one is required to assume responsibility for a definite financial plan or proposal for the next fiscal period. It is apparent that this is contrary to the theory of a budget, so far as its preparation goes. In the budget statement of the city controller for 1916 full supporting data are given.⁸ Expenditures for a three-year period are shown, according to a uniform classification. Receipts are shown in comparison with the actual receipts of preceding years and also a five-year average, as required by act of assembly. The budget statement includes also a consolidated balance sheet; a general account, capital account sinking fund, special and trust accounts, and comparative fund balance sheets, as supplementary information. So far as available reports of budget procedure and controller's annual report are concerned, Philadelphia stands as a model of completeness.

A standard for annual reports of Milwaukee was established in 1913 and 1914, and has been followed in 1915.⁹ The progress has been thorough and is definitely established now. The segregated budget resulting in the installation of a complete system of fund accounts was installed by the citizens' bureau of economy and efficiency in 1914. The budget of this city, however, makes the common error of being in fact merely an appropriation ordinance, with no statement of revenues to justify it to the administrator or to the citizen. The 1914 budget was more complete in itemization than is the 1915 document, and is a better budget for that reason. Details of personal service are required to assure proper expenditure of public funds. There is issued annually a pamphlet giving directions for the preparation of the budget.¹⁰

A review of work of the citizens' bureau of municipal efficiency for the year 1914-15¹¹ reveals that it has given much attention to improving this financial document, revising forms, regulating transfers to prevent abuse, providing for publication of the tentative budget, etc. In addition, the bureau participated in the installation of accounting records and cost accounts, and reduced expenditures from the contingent fund. These

⁸ Budget statement, 1916.

⁹ Annual reports for 1914 and 1915.

¹⁰ Directions for preparing the budget for 1916.

¹¹ "Helping Milwaukee," December, 1915.

activities serve to indicate the scope of work of an average bureau, not only in finances but in other departments, while publicity is also a feature whenever possible.

Baltimore in 1915 adopted a new budget and accounting procedure, the appropriations being classified in accordance with the various functions of the city government, instead of according to organization units as formerly. This classification is in accordance with the federal census bureau, and is being adopted more and more by cities. There is now available a complete exhibit of the finances of the city, and through reports the relations of the city's needs to its finances may be grasped at once. The basic principle of sound financing of each department living within its appropriations is fulfilled, and the accounts are placed upon a revenue and expense basis. These improvements have been gradually introduced until to-day Baltimore possesses a financial and accounting system equal to the best.

REPORT OF THE BOSTON COMMITTEE

A special committee of five citizens of the city of Boston submitted a report proposing a form for the annual budget of that city.¹² The study made by the committee is an interesting one, and their conclusions as stated by them are that the form proposed is "not a compromise, but to suggest a system which, for this city, will be distinctly superior to those in use elsewhere." One-half the budget—the subject of estimated revenue for financing the needs for the year—is omitted; possibly it is assumed that this portion of the budget will be prepared in full before the expenditure side is considered.

Sufficient details are contemplated in the "budget" to show what is to be spent by the different departments for the various purposes of the government, and disclose the exact number of employes together with maximum compensation. Publicity is encouraged by the presentation of the right material in the right form, and responsibility is fixed for expenditure. The plan devised by the commission consists of first, a set of estimate sheets; second, a revised appropriation order with an accompanying set of budget sheets, which are a condensation of the estimates; and third, of a revised form of monthly statements to be submitted by the departments. The result will be a budget much more condensed than that for cities having extreme itemization, due to the rejection of attempts to classify items by functions and to not prescribing the number of divisions in larger departments. Departments will keep a strict account of expenditures under each item of the appropriation order, and submit a report thereof monthly to the auditor. Forms of estimate sheets, the text of the proposed appropriation order, and the form of monthly statement to be

¹² Report of the commission on the annual budget, Boston, 1915.

filled out by the departments are a part of the report. It will be interesting to observe the success of this form of budget in fulfilling its mission.

In Chicago, through the efforts of the efficiency division of the city civil service commission, the budget for the year 1916 was prepared upon scientific lines, with a resultant saving of over \$600,000 from the figures first prepared by the controller. The budget for the current year is an unusual one in that it keeps the total of expenditures for operation within the estimated revenue. With the efficiency bureau transferred to the office of the controller, its general work of investigation may be continued with even more success and permanency than in the past.

A detailed study of Rochester, N. Y., revealed that conditions there were of as high an order as in any other city in the country. Executive authority rests in reality in the mayor, and he is responsible for the budget. Although under the mayor and council form of government, it was found unnecessary to recommend a new charter, but merely to effect changes in the present document in a few important particulars. A bureau of municipal research was established during the past year, which is amply financed for a period of five years, and is now engaged in effecting the recommendations of the survey report.

(To be concluded in the October issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW)

THE LIQUOR QUESTION AND MUNICIPAL REFORM

BY GEORGE C. SIKES¹

Chicago

FROM time immemorial, intoxicating beverages have been productive of human misery on an enormous scale. The saloon is a tremendous power for evil in politics. Therefore, a considerable portion of our citizenship favors the complete suppression of the liquor traffic and the banishment of the saloon. This might be a desirable accomplishment, if it could be effected—which is much the same as saying that this world would be a heaven if all the persons in it could be compelled to be good; though if all persons were self restrained and temperate, prohibition would not be necessary. The fact is, however, that the races that dominate the world and lead in civilization will not submit to the curtailment of personal liberty and the interference with the rights of individuals or of social groups to determine for themselves what is right or wrong for themselves, which the policy of prohibition involves. The Turks constitute an example of a people that can be forced by the combined power of church and state to abstain from the use of intoxicating beverages; but the Turks stand low in the scale of human progress. Abstention from the use of liquor has not enabled them to equal, much less to surpass, the races that lead in civilization. The stagnating influence in the Turk that causes him to lag behind his more independent Caucasian brother is the quality that leads him to yield to the arbitrary interference by the state and the church with his personal habits.

The temperance movement, as distinguished from the prohibition movement, has progressed rapidly in the last half century. Within the past few years, and especially since the outbreak of the European war, there has been a marked increase in prohibition sentiment. I cannot believe, however, that the prohibitionists are to score more than partial successes. Unless the experience of the world for thousands of years is a false guide in this matter, the pendulum will swing back again toward liberalism. It is hard to believe that the great cities of the United States or of Europe will soon see the complete suppression of the sale and

¹ Mr. Sikes, the author of this article, has been identified with civic organizations and has been a newspaper writer in Chicago for nearly 25 years. He was at one time secretary of the municipal voters' league; later, for a period of about five years, he was secretary of the Chicago bureau of public efficiency.—EDITOR.

use of liquor—unless temporarily and under orders of some czar-like authority.

It is, of course, the political privilege of any group in a democracy to urge the adoption by the government of whatever policy it may deem wise. The prohibitionists constitute no exception. It is the purpose of this paper to show, however, that the prohibition movement, as applied to large cities at least, is subversive of good government and a demoralizing factor of great importance in municipal politics. Confusion of the anti-saloon movement with municipal reform operates to discredit the latter and to block municipal progress. Wherever in large cities the anti-saloon agitation is strong, there the cause of municipal reform is retrogressing. I challenge the citation of conspicuous exceptions. On the other hand, I contend that an examination of instances of substantial improvement in the government of large cities will show that the improvement took place under the leadership of men of moderate, if not of liberal views on the control of the liquor traffic and of Sunday amusements. I do not recall a case in which improvement in municipal administration generally took place under the leadership of a man or of men classed as prohibitionists. I am speaking of large cities, not of smaller municipalities.

Let us name over some of the men who have actually helped to better municipal conditions. There are ex-mayor Low, William Travers Jerome, and Mayor Mitchel of New York city; ex-mayor Blankenburg of Philadelphia; Hazen S. Pingree of Detroit; Tom Johnson and Newton D. Baker, former mayors of Cleveland; "Golden Rule" Jones and Brand Whitlock, former mayors of Toledo; Joseph W. Folk of St. Louis; and Francis J. Heney of San Francisco. For Chicago, mention should be made of William E. Kent, one time alderman, former president of the municipal voters' league, and now an independent member of congress from a California district; George E. Cole, first president of the municipal voters' league; John Maynard Harlan, one time alderman and independent candidate for mayor in 1897; Charles R. Crane and Walter L. Fisher, former presidents of the municipal voters' league; and Charles E. Merriam, member of the city council and candidate for mayor in 1911.

All of these men, at the periods of their greatest usefulness in the field of municipal politics, were credited with liberal views on such questions as control of the liquor traffic and Sunday amusements, or they never would have had the opportunity to be useful in city politics.

Folk is not classed as a liberal today, to be sure. But he was so classed when he was successfully fighting municipal grafters in St. Louis. When he became governor of Missouri, and closed the saloons of St. Louis on Sunday, and otherwise ranged himself on the side of the prohibitionists, he ceased to be a municipal reformer. Whatever his standing may have been thereafter with rural Missouri, he was without political influence in

the city of St. Louis. Municipal conditions in St. Louis are worse today, in my opinion, than they would have been had Folk remained a municipal reformer, instead of allying himself with the anti-saloon element and thus sacrificing his influence as a leader in the affairs of a city that is predominantly liberal, and is resentful of activities which are termed fanatical.

David P. Jones, of Minneapolis, was elected mayor of his city, following the disgraceful Ames régime, on the issue of honest government. It was not long until he seized the idea, out of a clear sky, so to speak, that it was his main business to close the saloons on Sunday, which he did. They have remained closed ever since, but Minneapolis has also had unsatisfactory municipal government, out of keeping with its advantages in many ways, and the high grade of its citizenship. One important reason, I believe, is that civic leaders who ought to have shown better judgment have continued to devote to futile anti-saloon campaigns, initiated by prohibition zealots, energy that should have been expended in the effort to secure and maintain better city government.

It is chiefly with Chicago, however, that I wish to deal in the discussion of this subject. Large elements of the population of Chicago are of foreign origin, mostly from countries which do not hold to Puritan ideas of Sunday amusements and the use of liquor. While the community comprising Chicago, with its maze of overlapping governments, and large number of irresponsible elective officials, must be credited generally with bad administration, nevertheless, in so far as its city council is concerned, that city has made more progress in the last twenty years than any other municipality in the country. That progress is due to the fact that the leader in the fight for council betterment, the municipal voters' league, has ever kept good government to the forefront as the main issue. The prohibition agitators, who have actually tried to make Chicago prohibition territory, have not been able thus far to impair the effectiveness of the work of the league—which deals only with the city council. But the activities of the prohibition group are a constant menace to all movements for municipal betterment, and are responsible for the great hypocritical play on Sunday closing of saloons made by the worst mayor Chicago has had in many years. Unless the situation is met intelligently and courageously, the demoralizing effect may be very great.

Folk of St. Louis and Jones of Minneapolis undoubtedly acted from conscientious motives—though I think unwisely—when they closed the saloons on Sunday. But very few persons credit Mayor Thompson of Chicago with sincerity in his Sunday closing move. The action was not only in direct violation of a specific written pledge to the "United Societies" that he would not close the saloons on Sunday, but it was inconsistent with his own entire political and personal record. He has always been known as a believer in the "wide open" policy in all respects.

There are those who charge that he intended to get the political advantage of the move both ways—to be credited by the anti-saloon group with courage to enforce the law, and to be able to win political support from saloonkeepers by resort to favoritism. Since the Sunday closing order went into effect, it has been specifically charged—with what truth I am not prepared to say—that saloonkeepers selling liquor on Sunday were allied politically with the mayor. Certainly Mayor Thompson cannot truthfully claim to enforce all laws strictly, for he does not. There has never been so much complaint against any other administration for flagrant disregard of both the spirit and the letter of the civil service law. Every case thus far decided in court involving such matters has been decided against Mayor Thompson's civil service commission. Cabaret entertainments are particularly scandalous under this administration, and provisions for the protection of the morals of youth of both sexes are unusually bad. In the face of all this, Mayor Thompson charges every critic of his administration with being a tool of the "whiskey bosses." He asks support for unwise policies and for unfit candidates favored by his group on the ground that he defied the liquor interests and closed the saloons on Sunday. It would hardly be supposed that the saloonkeepers in the council who have the worst records as aldermen are thick and thin supporters of the Thompson administration, yet such is the fact. The notorious first ward aldermen, "Hinky Dink" Kenna and "Bathhouse John" Coughlin vote as the mayor desires on every occasion.

In order to understand the issues involved, it may be well to survey the history of the Sunday closing movement in Chicago. The laws of Illinois, like those of many states, provide that saloons shall be closed on Sunday. Enforcement in Illinois is left entirely to local officials, in which respect the situation differs from that in some other states. In Ohio, as I understand it, the rather general Sunday closing movement throughout the state followed the enactment of a law in which saloon control was vested in part in state officials. Not only is there no provision in Illinois for enforcement by state officials, but there is no specific machinery for removing from office or punishing otherwise a local official who fails to enforce a state law like that relating to the sale of liquor on Sunday. This has been the situation for half a century or more, yet the legislature of Illinois, in the face of entirely open disregard of the Sunday closing law, not only in Chicago, but in most other good sized cities of the state, has made no move whatever either to change the law or the mode of enforcement.

Following the great fire of 1871, Joseph Medill, then editor of the Chicago *Tribune*, was elected mayor of Chicago, on the good government issue. On the basis of previously expressed views, Mr. Medill was supposed to be in sympathy with the liberal ideas of the community with relation to the use of liquor and Sunday amusements. Otherwise, it is doubtful if

he could have been elected. Against his own better judgment in the matter, Mayor Medill yielded to the clamor of the anti-saloon element, and permitted his superintendent of police to close the saloons on Sunday. The liberal minded voters of Chicago had shown that they desired good government as well as liberal administration when they made Medill mayor. At the next election they gave emphatic indication of their disapproval of what was termed the surrender to fanaticism, by electing as mayor the candidate who boldly declared himself for the wide open policy. Incidentally this mayor, Harvey O. Colvin, gave a very bad administration of city affairs.

From the time of Colvin's election as mayor over forty years ago, up to the sudden and unexpected issuance of Mayor Thompson's Sunday closing order in the fall of 1915, the saloons of Chicago had remained open on Sunday as a matter of course. City ordinances that might be held to require Sunday closing were repealed by the city council immediately after the election of Colvin as mayor. Occasionally, the extreme prohibitionists, led by Arthur Burrage Farwell, would make some move to bring about Sunday closing by court action or otherwise, but always without success. Every serious candidate for mayor has given assurances, either express or implied, that he would not disturb the existing policy of the community with respect to Sunday closing. This was true of John Maynard Harlan, who ran for mayor as an independent in 1897, and of Alderman Merriam, who was the republican nominee for mayor in 1911. Arthur Burrage Farwell and a few others who subordinate every other issue, including that of honest government, to prohibition, consistently refused to vote for either Harlan or Merriam for mayor. What puzzles me is the present attitude of many citizens who did vote without question for Harlan and Merriam, despite their pronouncements against Sunday closing, who now conventionally support the view that law is law and must be enforced literally and completely. For my part, I cannot see why "law enforcement" should be regarded as a matter of mere expediency at one time, and of arbitrary and unwavering acquiescence in the views of the fanatics at another. To my way of thinking, there must be an administrative policy with reference to the enforcement of laws and ordinances, especially those relating to the regulation of matters that are not crimes in themselves. And in some few cases, the policy may lead for a time at least to deliberate non-enforcement. This is especially true where the enforcement of state laws is left to local officials. Shriekers for "law enforcement" always have some particular law or laws in mind.

The United States is the most lawless of the civilized nations, due in large part probably to the fact that we are overridden with laws. Life and property are less secure here than in most European countries, none of which has so many periodical spasms of "law enforcement." We do need greater respect for law in this land, but such respect is not

to be had from spasmodic and extreme enforcement—at the behest of fanatics and hypocrites—of unenforceable laws, or laws that do not reflect real public sentiment. There is a great deal of cant and nonsense put forth in the name of “law enforcement.”

Examples of unenforceable laws are acts for the assessment of personal property for purposes of taxation on the basis of uniformity. Years of experience have demonstrated that such acts cannot be enforced literally, and would entail great injustice if they were. Constitutions and laws must be changed so as to permit the classification of personal property for purposes of taxation. Pending the change, assessing officials should seek to do justice as nearly as possible, rather than to follow antiquated and unworkable methods literally.

It is impossible to secure satisfactory enforcement by local officials of a state law that is repugnant to local sentiment. In some such cases it may be the better policy for the local officials to ignore a state law altogether, leaving to the state itself the problem of enforcement. Certainly that course is preferable to partial enforcement under which the political supporters of an administration are given favors denied to others. If the state cares for the law, it will provide its own method of enforcement. If it does not care, it cannot rightly complain if its acts are not taken seriously by local communities that do not like them. Local self government, where it exists, and the right of trial by jury, are even more fundamental in our plan of government than are the wordings of statutes. It is always understood—except when fanatics are clamoring for the enforcement of unpopular statutes—that a measure repulsive to a local community will not be enforced by local officials, and that local juries will not convict under it. That fact is taken into account when laws are passed, or when they are left as they are in the face of demands for modification.

Laws are supposed to embody public sentiment as voiced by the legislative body. In no country of the world having what is termed responsible government—and all such countries have more real respect for law than is shown in the United States—would the executive undertake to give drastic effect to a statute that had been a dead letter for half a century without assurance that in so doing he represented the views of a majority of the law making body. Only the czar of Russia would attempt that. Revival by mere executive decree of obsolete statutes is a device of tyranny. At the time Mayor Thompson issued his Sunday closing order it is a moral certainty that neither the legislature of Illinois nor the city council of Chicago could have been induced to pass a resolution approving of the order. At the present time saloons in suburbs of Chicago, and in other cities of the state, are openly carrying on business on Sunday, and nothing is done about it. The state's-attorney of Cook county, in which Chicago is located, refuses to prosecute cases under the

Sunday closing law, so that Mayor Thompson, in order to enforce his Sunday closing order, is obliged to utilize the power to revoke licenses—an adequate remedy for the purpose, but one liable to political abuse.

I do not wish to be understood as arguing that saloons should be open on Sunday. My concern is with the honesty and capacity of the city government. The supreme desire of all of us should be to have a government that will so function as to solve all our problems properly, and on democratic lines. Such a government would close the saloons on Sunday, or place special restrictions upon the sale of liquor on that day, if the people so desire, and would not do so otherwise. The questions of prohibition or of Sunday closing are of less importance than honest government. If we can have honest government and Sunday closing, or honest government and prohibition, well and good. But neither Sunday closing nor prohibition should be forced upon a community in such a way as to demoralize its politics. And the influence is bound to be harmful whenever so-called good citizens lend support to a movement to foist a policy upon a community in an undemocratic way. If it be true that American cities heretofore having open saloons on Sunday are prepared for a different policy, the change will come soon through the healthy reaction of public opinion on the government. It will be better to wait a little while than to secure speedier results by undemocratic methods. A community forced against its will to a particular course of conduct is certain to show its resentment. If men classed as municipal reformers are identified with the forcing process, then municipal reform must suffer through the manifestation of resentment. Fortunately, Mayor Thompson is not classed as a municipal reformer. He is a rank partisan spoilsman and machine politician, with the element of hypocrisy added. I would not have liked to see a mayor of Chicago elected as a representative of municipal progress close the saloons on Sunday in the way in which Mayor Thompson did. The result inevitably would have been a setback for municipal reform. The trouble now in our large cities is that men who are fighting for decency and honest government are suspected of being puritans, no matter what they say. But for that suspicion I am satisfied that Merriam would have been elected mayor of Chicago in 1911, instead of Carter Harrison. American cities are enduring scandalous abuses, objectionable to the majority of the people, which could be cured but for the confusion of the situation by extremists who force to the front issues upon which too many respectable citizens become aligned with the minority.

The issue of Sunday closing having been raised in Chicago by Mayor Thompson, at the instigation of the extremist group led by Arthur Burroughs Farwell, exists to embarrass conscientious leaders and to confuse citizens who are more concerned with honest government than with the precise method of solution of any particular question. If the community

has gotten to the point where the majority favors Sunday closing of saloons, advocates of good government would not want to help force the opening of saloons again in the interest of the minority. If the effective majority desires Sunday beer, that majority is going to have its way, and advocates of good government who side with the minority in opposing the liberal policy must expect to see the cause of good government suffer in consequence of their own unpopular alignment.

What ought to be done to remedy the situation? The procedure that should be followed seems clear to me. The legislature should confer upon the city government, subject possibly to referendum provisions, the full power to deal with such matters as Sunday amusements and control of the sale of liquor both on Sundays and on week days. The city government should—and I believe would—proceed to frame regulations about those matters in conformity with local public sentiment. There would then be no excuse for non-enforcement. Thus respect for law would be promoted. The trouble with the anti-saloon group, as typified by Arthur Burrage Farwell, is that they prefer to keep the Sunday closing laws on the statute books, whether they can be enforced or not. In other words they do not really care for law enforcement, of which they talk when seeking support in their efforts to override the will of the majority. Their desire is to force their theocratic ideas upon a community that does not approve of those ideas.

It is my belief that the Chicago city council, if given power to regulate the sale of liquor on Sunday, would work out a plan that would be a compromise between the wide-open policy of former years and the rigid Sunday closing arrangement that is supposed to prevail at the present time. As matters now stand, liquor cannot be served with meals in Chicago hotels and clubs on Sunday.

If the legislature is unwilling to confer upon cities within the borders of the state the power to make and enforce regulations regarding Sunday amusements and the sale of liquor on Sunday, then the state itself should undertake the direct enforcement of such regulations as it cares to insist upon. I do not believe this course the wise one, but it is the only logical alternative to the denial of home rule on such matters. The legislature should cease being two-faced. It should deal with such subjects honestly and courageously, and pursue consistently one policy or the other. It should give cities home rule, or it should provide for enforcement of state laws by an agency of the state.

TUBEROSE OBSTACLES TO REFORM IN NEW YORK CITY

BY WILLIAM H. ALLEN¹

New York City

ARTHUR BRISBANE once startled a testimonial audience by referring to eulogies of a distinguished New York officer as follows: "Even at this distance from our guest of honor, I feel like a baby smothered with tuberoses."

Reform in New York has taken too deep root to be smothered by either tuberoses or brickbats. It is not, however, sufficiently rooted so that it is proof against setback. Among the many obstacles to progressive reform in New York City's government, a critical observer is compelled, I believe, to say that none is so great as silence for deficiencies with full praise or overpraise for excellencies. In this respect New York is no exception, except that its stake is greater. Yet is not the price of progress frank analysis that leads inevitably to praise or question or criticism, according to what's done and not according to who's in?

It is generally taken for granted in New York that the reform administration cannot succeed itself in 1918. The closer one comes to the insidest of insiders, the less confidence and hope one finds. Yet never before or elsewhere in the history of American government has a single administrative officer been able to report so many separate, definite, extensive and invaluable forward steps as Hon. John Purroy Mitchel, mayor of Greater New York, reported on May 2, 1916, for the first two years of his administration.

No equal: yet no chance. Could there be a more extraordinary situation?

There is a reason. There are many reasons. One reason is indicated in the title of this article and is epitomized in the January issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW by the article of the then city chamberlain of New York entitled "Mayor Mitchel's Administration of the City of New York."² It is relevant that an officer close to the mayor and to the facts of the present and of the past should at all misstate the case; but there is no special obstacle presented in official overstatement. The serious obstacle is the condition that, although men and women inside and outside the present government of New York City know that errors of fact and hyperbole of praise are given in official statements, no public mention of the errors is welcome.

¹ Director of the New York Institute for Public Service.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 24.

Several city employees complained to the institute for public service that the chamberlain's article was unfair to previous administrations, to the mayor's associates in this administration, and to the facts; but these complainants would not dare to utter publicly the questions they raised with us. Outside analysts, who in ordinary affairs exhibit a keen discrimination with regard to non-reform and anti-reform utterances, have been pursuing throughout the present administration a policy of "Sh-h, don't wake up the baby!" It is that policy which is progressively raising tuberosc obstacles to reform.

The city chamberlain, whose relation to the mayor and to the administration makes him spokesman in a sense seldom exhibited, wrote his article at the end of the second year of Mayor Mitchel's administration, at the end of the sixth year of fusion government and after ten years of "rebuilding of city government and the education of the New York public in the merits of better government." In this process of rebuilding few, if any, men have carried a more important rôle during these ten years than the chamberlain himself. Special significance, therefore, attaches to any gaps between facts of record and the chamberlain's allegations in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW or other "right or wrong" eulogies.

Gap No. 1. The, "pay-as-you-go" remedy for future permanent debt was cited, page 35, as a "mark of statesmanship . . . which the board of estimate and apportionment has had the courage to prescribe." Instead of a mark of statesmanship, the pay-as-you-go policy was a signal of dependence. It was prescribed not by the board of estimate and apportionment but by H. P. Davison of J. P. Morgan and Company, and President F. L. Hine of the First National Bank. The city needed \$100,000,000 after the European war broke out to pay debts to Europe. It had to have it or confess bankruptcy. The banks gave it on condition that the pay-as-you-go policy be adopted. These facts were testified to before the recent legislative committee on New York expenditures. Against "home rule" opposition and upon the advice of bankers, Senator Brown induced the legislature to pass a bill making the pay-as-you-go policy compulsory.

Gap No. 2. Speaking of school affairs, page 33, the chamberlain wrote: "Mayor Mitchel has not attempted to break down the traditional barriers existing between the schools and the city government." Yet prior to this writing numerous barriers had been broken down by the mayor in ways that would have been a national scandal if a "Tammany" mayor had done the same things. For example, he stated publicly that before appointing new members of the board of education last November, he pledged them to vote against one man and to vote for another man for president of the board, in spite of the law's intent that this board should be thoroughly barrier-ed against political or mayoralty interference.

Men and women so pledged denied the pledge publicly, but the mayor let the cat out of the bag before he learned of their denial. Three months later, May 2, the mayor stated that he had chosen them for their "personal independence." These discrepancies between fact and advertisement are covered up with tuberoses, to the jeopardy of the public schools and of municipal reform.

Gap No. 3. In April 1916, a newspaper which has tuberoses for the mayor and brickbats for all challengers wrote: "There is never any guessing as to what political or personal interest is supposed to be at the bottom of the [mayor's] choice, or to whose 'pull' it may be traced." In December 1913, the mayor-elect stated: "We were elected not to do the work of any party but to do the work of the whole citizenry. We were elected to give a business administration . . . without regard to politics and that in so far as I have the power I propose to do." January 1916, the chamberlain wrote, page 26: "Appointments were deliberately made to minor positions from the nominees of political fusion or anti-Tammany organizations. Mayor Mitchel took the position publicly that whenever he could name men to subordinate positions who were acceptable to the political groups he would do so provided that they were reasonably competent."

Papers with nation-wide circulation defend the mayor against the demands of labor unions for the resignation of "two Rockefeller employes" from the board of education. It is admitted that these employes have been the mayor's chief representatives in gaining control of the board of education. "Tuberosing" first defends the mayor and then applauds the contributions of these two Rockefeller members. The records fail to show one constructive proposal due to these men (unless wanting a small board is *per se* constructive), but do show that they have been absent since being appointed members, one more than half the meetings and the other a trifle less than half the meetings.

Gap No. 4. Appointments were made to major offices which would have provoked ridicule and condemnation if made by a not-yet-reform administration. No one knew the facts regarding these appointments more intimately than the mayor's intimate spokesman, the chamberlain. The more regrettable, therefore, is the misstatement by the chamberlain, page 26: "The mayor chose wherever he could find them men best qualified by reason of training and experience for the particular job to be filled." Twenty-three pages further on in the January REVIEW are found several admissions by another writer that with respect to the civil service commission this was not true. At the time the chamberlain was writing it had ceased to be true of two of the three departments cited for illustration.

At the very first public criticism of the new administration—its first week—several of its members wrote letters of protest and otherwise

threatened to withdraw the city's co-operation in certain reforms if such criticism was to be publicly voiced. The occasion was the appointment as chief efficiency examiner of a specialist in the Irish drama. From that time to this criticism has been construed as evidence of ill-will and vicious motive, with the result that criticism and frank analysis have become lost arts to many agencies with previous enviable records as impersonal and impartial analysts of city management.

Not since the city was started have appointments from personal reasons been more numerous. Whether or not the partners or intimate personal friends of the mayor or of his personal friends are efficient or not is beside the question here. The fact of importance is that the excellencies of reform are endangered because of foibles and weaknesses which would not continue if there were free criticism.

Gap No. 5. Before the administration was half over, five important resignations were announced: Corporation Counsel Polk, Health Commissioner Goldwater, Chamberlain Bruère, Corrections Commissioner Davis, and President McAneny of the board of aldermen. No one expected this in 1913. The reasons given in three cases were that financial sacrifices were too great; Mr. Polk went to Washington, Miss Davis became parole commissioner at the same salary. Had the community talked of this policy of resigning as it feels and as it would talk if it were not chloroformed with tuberose, officers like those mentioned would choose to "get the message to Garcia." Although the resigners' work was not finished but just begun, the chamberlain did not mention these significant changes.

Gap No. 6. On May 3 last, when editorials extolled the mayor's report of his accomplishments, news columns reported that the grand jury was investigating the fact that the mayor and his police commissioner had tapped the wires of several persons connected with Catholic charities and turned results over to the charities commissioner. The writer would not subtract one iota from the commendations of Mayor Mitchel's achievements. He cares so much for them that he fears for consequences when a community has been so successfully drugged that there seems to be some curious difference between reform wiretapping and "Tammany" wiretapping. That the wires were tapped the mayor and his police commissioner admit. That in another case business wires were tapped is admitted. Not a syllable in the law cited gives any justification. If a crime was committed, the penalty is two years' imprisonment. If the same thing had been done by Mayor McClellan with the same self-justification there would have been a riot in New York. Is it unfair to reform for leaders in reform to protect that act and to see a difference between wiretapping by Mayor Mitchel of New York and wiretapping by Mayor Smith of Philadelphia?

Gap No. 7. A five year lease in the Equitable building was recently made by the New York public service commission after Mayor Mitchel's officers had failed to find quarters in the Municipal building. At the time when the mayor and the chamberlain might have been looking at submitted evidence to show how and where the public service commission could be satisfactorily housed in vacant city-owned property, they were listening to the commission's reasons for wanting to lease private property. Five hundred thousand dollars is only \$500,000 which is not much in New York, but it will go a long way when buying health and education. Papers printed columns of news space giving facts and protests. Because only a half-dozen editorials condemned this step would the chamberlain say that "the disinterested press has stood squarely behind the administration?"

Gap No. 8. This morning's papers quote the mayor's proposal to spend \$1,000,000 on building an island so that it will not be necessary to dispose of garbage on Staten Island. Staten Island is threatening secession if the mayor's plan to put a garbage plant on Staten Island is prosecuted as authorized at a "snap" session of the fiscal body called to forestall a public hearing. Yet the city owns 80 dry, available acres of land adjacent to a dead animal plant, a fish plant, and a sulphuric acid plant, all of which are to be continued. The mayor's own health department has itself made contracts which will keep the dead animal plant where it is now for four more years. Why is it that the reform administration and misguided friends refuse to consider or to mention this available site and propose to build a new island? Insiders talk, but try to keep the public from talking, about understandings in which the public did not share. Why is it that the chamberlain failed to mention to your readers that the contract excluded the island? While the chamberlain was writing his references to the street cleaning department that department itself was protesting against the policy which the administration had insisted upon and which the department claims will "postpone for years any feasible plan to save \$1,400,000 a year."

Gap No. 9. Before election the mayor pledged himself to install in the corporation counsel's office as "one of my first official acts," a bureau for attention to citizen complaints regarding "service or facilities or rates of public service companies." Two and a half years have passed and yet there is no complaint bureau. A step toward a complaint bureau was taken in May 1916 when the mayor appointed Milo R. Maltbie to succeed Mr. Bruère in the chamberlainship which the latter had repeatedly declared was a superfluous office. As an excuse for spending \$30,000 of other people's money between May 1916 and December 1917 on a sinecure office, the mayor stated that he wanted to keep in touch with public utilities. Had Mayor Gaynor or Mayor McClellan done the same thing, reform's insiders would have declared that the town needs not more in-

formation but more action regarding utilities, and not more employes, but more use of existing employes. Mayor Mitchel is apologized for and commended for wasting public money on so able an appointee. Next campaign people will say what they leave unsaid now.

Gap No. 10. In his speech of May 2, the mayor says that the cut in the school budget this year has not caused "the slightest impairment of educational service, even providing for extension of certain activities." When that statement was made the mayor knew and reform insiders knew that service has been tremendously impaired, that there are 130,000 children in classes of over 50 pupils in a class, that there are still 1,000 substitutes, that night schools have been reduced from 90 to 70 nights a year and from four to two nights a week, summer evening schools for foreigners closed, and public lectures reduced one-half. Not one extension of service could he mention. No one knows better than reform's friends that these references misstate the facts. They know that private promises were made to give the mayor's candidates money which was denied to those he ousted, and that he was extolling as progressives board members whose only claim to the title was obedience to him against their own records of opposition to economy and efficiency. Did reform's friends protest? No. But by not protesting they are practically forcing schools as a leading issue for the next municipal campaign with "reform" on the defensive.

Miscellaneous Gaps. In the chamberlain's article, which throughout has been cited only because it is symptomatic, appeared many minor claims and charges and omissions the unfairness of which is no less an obstacle to reform because editorial writers and public speakers consider them minor. For example:

1. "*Familiar official hack*" is not entirely descriptive of the reform administration's predecessors in New York service, such as Abram S. Hewitt, Seth Low, William J. Gaynor, George B. McClellan, Edward J. Swanstrom, Bird S. Coler, Cyrus C. Miller, William B. Ellison, Henry S. Thompson, General Bingham, Robert W. Hebbard, John M. Brannan, Thomas Darlington, Andrew H. Green, E. R. L. Gould, Homer Folks, Calvin S. Tompkins, Gustav Lindenthal, Michael Kennedy, William R. Wilcox, Henry Smith, et al.

2. "*Total absence of special training for subordinate positions of leadership*" is not a fair characterization of the condition which Mayor Mitchel inherited. Civil service commission, finance department, police department, fire and other departments had men of notable accomplishments without whom Mayor Mitchel's new importations would have made a sorry record. Present Commissioners Adamson, Woods, Smith, Murphy, Lewis, Keogh were trained in earlier administrations. Mr. Mitchel himself was trained under Mayor McClellan and strongly backed by him.

3. The "*standardization of duties and salaries*" and "*analyzing and preparing the annual appropriation ordinance*" began years before the

Mitchel administration or its predecessor. So the "*policy of dealing with big questions on a basis of information*" antedates the present administration by several years.

4. "*Since Colonel Waring's time no progress in the technique of street cleaning*" is quite unfair to two preceding administrations. It is true, as the chamberlain stated, that the present commissioner was sent to Europe to "study the street cleaning problems of European cities." It is not true, as implied, that Mayor Mitchel sent him. It is also true, however, that the administration has rejected his recommendations for disposing of garbage and other refuse and saving \$1,400,000 a year.

5. Regarding the administration of charities the chamberlain failed to admit that as "the curse of the poor is their poverty" so the curse of preceding managements was not lack of program but lack of money. Subtract the additional money and freedom given to Mayor Mitchel's commissioner and the steps taken in this administration that were not attempted in preceding administrations noticeably shrink.

6. The pension investigations which the chamberlain credits to Mayor Mitchel were outlined under Mayor Gaynor who appointed a committee on pensions of which the later chamberlain was himself a member.

7. Fire prevention work which the chamberlain implied was started in Mayor Mitchel's time had been working for years under Mayor Gaynor; its improvement under Mayor Mitchel is beyond question.

8. In his statement regarding the civil service the chamberlain failed to mention that the law had been violated, *inter alia*, by appointing men without technical qualifications to technical positions. The six matters referred to in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for January, on page 55, would have caused much public discontent if a "Tammany" candidate had been responsible.

9. One of fusion's promises which members of the National Municipal League regard as important, the present administration has practically repudiated; namely, the promise to abolish the board of aldermen. The promise was made with no qualifications. Voters were not told that the board would be abolished if "Tammany" continued to control it, but would be excused or used if "fusion" controlled it. The board stands. It is under "Tammany" control. The city has lost its chance to free itself of a fifth wheel which at best can contribute almost nothing and when not at its best is a millstone.

10. Another fundamental promise was to prepare a new charter. Students of government know how sadly New York needs a new charter. If anti-reform had failed to fulfill such a promise, New York reformers would be neither voiceless nor indulgent. The only step the present administration has taken toward framing a model charter was when it asked the legislature of 1915 to reduce the board of education from 46 to 9 members. This step was taken, not in fulfillment of a promise for comprehensive revision, but in an effort to jam through the board of

education certain policies opposed by the majority of that board. That the step would be taken by the city administration was announced as a threat on the floor of the board of education by one of the so-called "Rockefeller employes," above mentioned, several days before the administration's committee had decided to take or had considered the step. This unfulfilled promise is also obscured by tuberose, and, to quote Lincoln, by "passing the buck" to Albany for failing to give a home rule amendment.

11. At the time the chamberlain was writing about license control, page 32, the bureau of licenses was harboring an organized band of pick-pockets and bribe blackjacks on the inside—the greatest old time corruption scandal for a decade.

12. The accounting reforms did not prevent undetected defalcation by one of the chamberlain's subordinates.

13. The unparalleled use of co-operating citizen committees, page 37, includes unsurpassed discourtesy to such committees when protesting against the board of estimate's plans for Riverside Drive and garbage disposal.

14. Without an editorial protest liquor and dancing are being allowed in two city parks and the privilege of combining liquor and dancing in two Central Park restaurants was being advertised when the mayor made his May 2 speech.

When Mayor Mitchel took office in 1914, New York City had been through a period of scrutiny and criticism which made it clearly the foremost city in the country in public discussion of public business. It is doubtful if ever an electorate hoped so much or so definitely or, judging from past experience, so justifiably. The newly elected mayor and his associates knew the city's needs and how to meet those needs. They had made many specific pledges which they knew how, and had the power, to carry out. A very long list of these pledges they have carried out; the great majority are under way. Yet something has happened which threatens to over-shadow in the public mind these notable achievements. That something or several somethings are here noted as an appeal to out-of-New-Yorkers to help New York return to straight thinking and sincere discussion of its municipal needs.

There can be no sincere discussion when the balance sheet stands with all credit entries and when the friends of reform keep under cover, in the back yard or behind the door, tendencies and acts which can be cured and stopped only by the fresh air and spotlight of admission and frank discussion in time. A weakness loses neither its identity nor its importance because it is outnumbered or outweighed by excellencies. Can there be an unfriendlier way to show friendship for governmental reform than to throw either brickbats at virtues when outnumbered, or tuberose at deficiencies no matter how much they seem to be outnumbered or outweighed by excellencies?

SOME FURTHER FACTS ABOUT MAYOR MITCHEL'S ADMINISTRATION¹

BY ROBERT S. BINKERD

New York City

DEAR MR. WOODRUFF:

I beg to acknowledge receipt this morning of a proof of the forthcoming article on the present administration in New York City by Dr. William H. Allen. I cannot prepare a reply to it in the sense in which you ask, as I am leaving the city tonight and could not get a manuscript to you in time for the publication date which you mention.

I do not feel called upon to attempt any categorical set of answers to much of the gossip which Dr. Allen retails. I think almost all men in close touch with the affairs of New York City recognize that there has been a progressive improvement in its government for the past ten years. While much of that improvement has been due to the same general group of men who are now in the municipal administration, neither Mayor Mitchel, nor President McAneny, nor Mr. Bruère would minimize the improvement inherited from former administrations. The mayor himself said, for instance: "Health work has been brought up to a still higher plane, although costs have been cut. In this last case we were building on a solid foundation and due credit must be given to previous administrations."

The fairness and accuracy of Dr. Allen's statements can be tested by a simple examination of a few of his allegations.

The city authorities had not the slightest control over the lease made by the public service commission of this district in the Equitable building. They attempted to secure a postponement of the making of this lease by the commission in an endeavor to find cheaper quarters. The respon-

¹ Dr. Allen's article on "Tuberose Obstacles to Reform in New York City" raised certain questions of fact which the editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW felt should be covered by someone not a party to the controversy, so he submitted the proof to Robert S. Binkerd, the secretary of the City Club of New York, who has had exceptional facilities for observation and whose identification with that organization is a guaranty of his interest in the larger phases of the question. Mr. Binkerd has had these exceptional facilities for observation because of his connection as managing director of the Municipal government association of the state of New York and as a member of the legislative committee of the state conference of mayors, and because of his active identification with the various movements for the improvement of the New York city charter. Mr. Binkerd did not have time to prepare a formal reply, but at the editor's request has made a statement of the facts as he knows them. EDITOR.

sibility and blame for this lease, if there be any, is surely upon the commission and not upon the city government.

The mayor, the board of estimate, and the street cleaning commissioner have been co-operating to the fullest degree in the attempt to turn the garbage and refuse of New York City into a very considerable asset.

Dr. Allen states that fire prevention work had been going for years under Mayor Gaynor. The bureau was established in 1911 but constituted one of the glaring weak spots of Mayor Gaynor's administration. The appointments for fire prevention inspectors were practically parceled out to the leaders of Tammany hall, a policy which Mayor Gaynor did not pursue in many other departments.

The present board of estimate and the men in it, who constituted also a majority of the previous board of estimate, deserve the strongest possible praise for their courageous treatment of the finances of New York City. The "pay-as-you-go" policy referred to by Dr. Allen is a somewhat crude, but certainly an heroic and efficient remedy for the great over-borrowings of previous administrations. The committee of Senator Brown, to which Dr. Allen refers, came down to New York City with the expectation of criticising the financial administration of the city. It went back to Albany prepared not only to admit its virtue, but to recommend legislation to sustain it.

It is true that the present administration has not proposed a new charter for the city. For this I take a considerable personal responsibility. Instead of preparing a charter to be enacted by the legislature as a special law, New York City for the first time has thrown its lot in with the rest of the cities of the state. The mayor of New York is the first mayor to co-operate in the building up of the Mayors' conference in New York State. Every effort was made to secure from the constitutional convention of 1915 a new municipal article, which would give to all the cities of the state the power to frame, adopt, and amend their own charters. The city sent a special representative to the constitutional convention for this purpose in the person of Professor Howard Lee McBain of Columbia University.

I know of no one who argues that the governmental millenium has been secured in New York City. I know of no one who supposes that party organizations have gone out of existence, or that provincialism and localism in our boroughs have been abolished. I do believe that every disinterested observer of any statesmanlike capacity recognizes, however, that there is no political party and no political machine which is running the government of New York City. I know that any such observer would note a remarkable absence of partisan consideration in settling questions of administration and of policy. In this broad sense the mayor's statement that "partisan politics have been eliminated" is substantially true. This is so substantially true that there is wide-

spread talk among Republicans against entering another fusion campaign. The common argument used is that the Republicans contributed a majority of the votes and that they have been substantially ignored as to patronage.

Nothing is said by Dr. Allen of the uncompromising stand taken by the administration last year in opposition to breaking down our building laws, nor is mention made of the mayor's veto of a partisan Republican bill re-apportioning the aldermanic districts of the city last year. These are only a few of many evidences given during the past two years of a new concern for the welfare of the city regardless of the effect of such concern upon the political parties and upon the political future of those in office.

It is a matter of no official concern to me whether the present city government can or will be re-elected. I am concerned that New York City and its government should not be put in a false light before the friends of good government throughout the country. I am deeply disappointed that Dr. Allen, in the name of disinterested scientific inquiry, should put forth such an effusion. As you know, for some seven years we have originated and handled many of the important pieces of city legislation. During much of that time the Democratic leaders in the legislature have displayed a largeness of view in striking contrast to that displayed by Dr. Allen in this article. Is this the best that we are to expect from the new "institute for public service"?²

²At a dinner of the Committee of 107 at the Hotel Astor on Tuesday, May 2, Mayor Mitchel gave an extended account of his stewardship. His speech has been reprinted in pamphlet form and can be had upon application at the Mayor's office, City Hall, New York.

MUNICIPAL FIRE INSURANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

BY RALPH H. BLANCHARD
University of Pennsylvania

THE earliest recorded instances of fire insurance were in the nature of communal schemes for indemnifying private individuals. More than twenty-five hundred years ago officials were appointed in Assyria for the purpose of levying contributions on the inhabitants when one of their number suffered loss from a fire of accidental origin. In 1240 a law to the same effect, called the "Custom of Furnes," was promulgated in Flanders. In 1609 a plan was submitted to Count Anthony von Oldenburg whereby he was to make good loss by fire in return for periodical payments which were expected to yield him a handsome profit. The count refused to adopt the plan on the ground that it might tempt providence. In 1638 and in 1668 schemes of insurance of private property by the corporation of London were advanced, but they were never put into operation.

The corporation of London, in 1681, entered the business of fire insurance, adopting the principles of a plan suggested by Deputy Newbold about five years earlier. Perpetual insurance or insurance for a term of thirty-one years were offered, with two sets of premiums, one applying to brick, the other to timber houses. Land belonging to the city and valued at £100,000 was pledged as an initial fund. The fire office, a private corporation established somewhat previously, immediately declared war, cutting their rates under those of the corporation, and announcing "that they will always set their price under the city." As a result of this competition the corporation decided to discontinue the new enterprise, although 1,670 proposals had been received. In November, 1682, the policies were cancelled and the premiums returned. This is the only example in Great Britain of the actual operation of a municipal fire insurance scheme applying to privately owned property. Similar proposals were made in 1690 by Alexander Cutting, and in 1903 by the warehousemen in the Cripplegate Wards of London, but both were rejected.

Perhaps the most interesting of the schemes advanced in the United States is that of William W. Boardman, who proposed in 1834 that the city of New Haven should take over the insurance of all buildings within the city limits, charging the regular company premiums for five years and reducing the rates by one-half after that time, provided that the

ratio of loss had not increased in the meantime. By this means he proposed not only to pay indemnities for loss, but also to meet all of the city's expenses and gradually extinguish the municipal debt. He contended that the plan "if adopted with unanimity and carried through with intelligence, perseverance, and liberality, will be certain to relieve the city imperceptibly of debt, and place her finances in a high and flourishing condition." Other plans of like import have been proposed, but there seems to be no record of their actual application.

Loss of municipal property by fire may be met in one of three ways; the municipality may assume the risk of loss, it may shift the risk to insurance companies, or it may combine the two methods by assuming only a portion of the risk and shifting the remainder to the insurance companies. Each of these methods of caring for losses to public property has a considerable body of adherents both in Great Britain and in the United States. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to municipal insurance as applied to public property only.

FIRE INSURANCE FUNDS IN BRITISH CITIES.

Beginning with the year 1900 it has become quite common for British municipalities to ask parliament for the power to establish fire insurance funds, a request which is usually granted. In 1914 twenty-five local governments had obtained such power; four before 1900, and twenty-one from 1900-1913 inclusive. The grant follows a standard form with variations to suit individual circumstances, the following provisions usually being included:

A fire insurance fund may be established to meet fire losses to property belonging to or under the custody or control of the corporation. Each year the corporation is to pay to the fund a sum equal to or not less than the premiums which would be charged by the insurance companies.

As soon as the fund reaches a certain level (varying from £10,000 to £100,000), and so long as that level is maintained, payments may be discontinued.¹ It is optional with the authorities to insure any part of their property with the companies. If the fund proves insufficient to meet any loss, the corporation may borrow, in anticipation of taxes, enough to make up the deficiency, this amount to be repaid within such period (not exceeding sixty years) as shall be determined in each case.

In the majority of cases these powers have not been used, but they are of considerable value in bargaining with the companies.

There were in 1914 nine municipal insurance funds in active operation in Great Britain, of which at least eight carried only a portion of the risks of their respective cities. The proportion of the total risk carried by the fund is limited either by a specific amount, by a certain percentage,

¹ Parliament has no set rule to fix the proportion between the amount of the fund and the value of the property at risk.

or by the degree of hazard involved. For example, in London the fund covers risks up to £10,000 in value; when a risk exceeds £10,000 it is covered to that amount in the fund, together with the whole of any balance of less than £2,000 and one-half of any balance of £2,000 or upwards. Except in special cases the liability of the fund is not to exceed £25,000. The companies insure the remainder of these risks as well as certain extra-hazardous risks entire.

For the year 1912-13 the income of the London fund was as follows:

Premiums	£6,429
Interest	3,685
	<u>£10,114</u>
Less amount allotted for management expenses	271
	<u>£9,843</u>

Losses 1905-06 to 1912-13 were £4,382, giving a yearly average of £548. The aggregate value of property insured in the fund is £13,708,516.

Glasgow secured power to establish a fund in 1898, but did not put it into operation until May, 1912. This step was taken on the basis of the fire insurance experience from 1888-1908 inclusive, which was as follows:

Total amounts covered by companies	<u>£33,137,275</u>
Premiums to companies	£54,750
Losses made good by companies (including fire brigade charges)	13,010
	<u>£41,740</u>

Losses = 24 per cent of premiums.

This fund insures all property on which the rate is 3s per £100 or under, and one-third of the property having a rate of more than 3s, thus carrying about seven-eighths of the total insurable value and about three-quarters of the risk. The risk is further lessened by re-insuring against loss in excess of £20,000 from any one fire. The first year's account gives the following result:

Premiums and interest	£3,740
Expense	<u>1,325</u>
Surplus from year as nucleus for fund	£2,415

The seven other funds² have likewise been successful thus far, though in no one has the experience been of sufficient length of time or breadth of scope to furnish conclusive evidence of the success of the general principle.

²At Nottingham, Birmingham, Leicester, Bradford, Hastings, Accrington and Aberdeen.

That portion of the London fund devoted to school buildings has had the most notable success, having been in operation since 1878.

Two insurance companies in Great Britain make a specialty of municipal insurance: the Fine art and general insurance company, Ltd., of London, and the Municipal mutual insurance, Ltd. The former is one of the oldest and largest of the non-tariff companies, and it makes a special offer to municipalities whereby they may participate in the profits obtained from the insurance of municipal property. Under one form of policy this consists in dividing one-half of the collective profits from this class of business pro rata according to premiums paid and subject to certain restrictions which provide for a reserve to meet a possible collective loss. Under another form of policy the company agrees to return a percentage of the premiums according to a fixed scale, the amount of the rebate depending directly on the loss ratio. If the insurance is discontinued before the expiration of five years or after that time without three months' notice the company may reclaim one-half of the rebates paid under the latter type of policy.

The Municipal mutual insurance, Ltd., is a mutual fire insurance company whose operations are restricted to municipal property. It was established in London in 1903 by thirteen of the local authorities, and has its main office there, with a branch in Edinburgh. The liability of members is limited to an assessment of £50 if necessary in the winding-up of the concern. There is no share-capital, the profits earned and the funds being the property of the policyholders. The management is vested in a board of trustees appointed by the policyholders; the board is governed by articles of association, and chooses a board of management which is in active charge. The association has power to transact any sort of insurance business except life, and, while its principal line is fire insurance, it also accepts some of the simpler casualty risks and acts as broker for such risks as it does not itself accept. Insurers agree to place their risks with the association for a period of five years, becoming entitled to dividends at the end of the fourth year. These dividends for the years 1907-1913 have amounted to £10,000 in the aggregate.

Although the Municipal mutual grants full coverage for any amount and insures (1914) £23,000,000 for some 500 local authorities, it sacrifices about one-half of its premiums for re-insurance. The re-insuring contracts are very liberal, providing for extraordinary losses, insuring the solvency of the re-insuring companies, and granting a commission and a share of the profits to the Mutual. The expense ratio for 1913 was 37 per cent, and the average ratio of losses to net premiums has been 10.5 per cent since inception. The expense ratio will probably become lower as the business increases in size, as there are no competitive expenses. Thus far the growth of this enterprise has been rather slow, due partially to pure

conservatism on the part of the local authorities, and partially to the lack of accumulated funds to act as security.³

The cities of the United States have pursued very diverse policies with regard to the insurance of public buildings. The following methods of meeting this problem are at present in vogue:

1. Partial insurance placed with insurance companies, the amount covered determined by:
 - (a) A percentage of the value of the property, or
 - (b) The fire hazard of each individual risk.
2. No insurance of any kind.
3. Insurance by means of an accumulating municipal fund.
4. Insurance with the companies for practically full value.

The various methods are listed in the order of their prevalence as indicated by replies to inquiries sent to those cities having a population of over 100,000 according to the 1910 census.

PHILADELPHIA.

The municipal fire insurance fund as a method of protection against loss is now in use in a greater or less degree in six of the cities investigated, and the financial officers of several others have expressed themselves as in favor of this scheme. The oldest and most important of these funds is that in Philadelphia, established by an ordinance of councils on March 29, 1904. It was provided that all insurance premiums on property "belonging solely to the city or in which the city is solely interested" should be discontinued, the amount of such premiums to be paid thereafter to the sinking fund commission, to be invested and accumulated until it should reach \$250,000. These accumulations constitute a permanent fire insurance fund to be used for the "repair, rebuilding, and replacement of any real or personal property of the city which may be injured or destroyed by fire or otherwise injured as an incident to such fire or fires." Whenever the fund shall exceed the required amount by \$50,000 the excess is to be applied to the municipal debt. This ordinance was amended in 1911 to cover marine insurance and raise the amount to be accumulated to \$500,000.

The Philadelphia fund on December 31, 1904, had to its credit \$124,157.93, and appropriations have been made by councils since that time as follows:

³The methods of the British funds and of the two insurance companies specializing in municipal insurance are treated in greater detail in Jack, *Fire Insurance and the Municipalities*; London, 1914.

1905	\$25,000
1906	25,000
1907	25,000
1908	45,000
1909	45,000
1910	55,000
1911	45,000
1912	25,000
1913	25,000
1914	25,000

Losses by years have been as follows:

1904	\$1,181.00
1905	74,991.85
1906	20,000.00
1907	2,215.71
1908	2,468.97
1910	5,313.45
1911	47,433.66
1912	10,938.53
1913	2,043.00
1914	8,865.52
Total	\$175,451.69
Average losses	\$15,950.15

The reserve for losses by fire on December 31, 1914, was \$428,603.88.

OTHER CITIES.

Newark, N. J., established an insurance fund in 1905 which had to its credit assets of \$174,732.28 on December 31, 1913. This city still places a portion of its risks with the companies. Richmond, Va., has been accumulating a fund since 1909 from appropriations of \$2,000 made semi-annually. This fund is not to carry the entire risk until it reaches \$100,000, all property except fire engine houses and buildings of fireproof construction being now insured with the companies. The fund has suffered no losses and now amounts to about \$29,000. Providence, R. I., started a fund in 1911, provision being made for the annual appropriation of \$5,000 until the fund amounts to \$50,000. No claims have as yet been made on the fund. Paterson, N. J., has a fund covering fire houses only which has been in operation since 1913, has had no losses, and amounts to nearly \$7,000. Baltimore covers all public property within the city limits by means of a fund created in 1914, to which is appropriated \$10,000 annually. The appropriations are to continue until the fund reaches \$250,000; at present it contains \$35,543.97.

Of the forty cities from which replies were received, nine carry no fire insurance whatsoever;⁴ about two-thirds of the remainder carry

⁴ One of these cities carries fire insurance on a single building, but only in deference to the wishes of the organization which occupies it.

partial insurance with the companies; and a very few approach full insurance. Of the ten largest cities in the United States, five carry no insurance, three have partial insurance with the companies, and two have municipal funds. Some cities insure their more hazardous risks and take no insurance on the less hazardous, some make fireproof or non-fireproof construction the determining factor, while others insure only a certain percentage of the value, from 5 per cent up. Occasionally the city government sees a chance to cut expenses where the public cannot criticize, and refuses to vote the money necessary for premiums.

The highest possible degree of protection against loss by fire is to be obtained, of course, by insurance for full value carried with reliable companies. But this involves the payment of a considerable sum of money in premiums, and it is wholly with a view to saving money that the municipalities have adopted other plans. The basic theory urged in justification is to the effect that the property of a municipality is of sufficient amount and spread over a sufficiently wide area to assure the operation of averages and make the calculation of future losses fairly accurate. Those cities carrying no insurance proceed on the theory that the probability of loss in any one year is so low that such losses as do occur may be met without difficulty by special appropriations, the saving of all insurance expense compensating for these possible burdens.

The cities which maintain funds have erected a sort of buffer to take the shock of large losses and distribute them over a series of years. Those which insure their properties partially with the companies are attempting to relieve the municipality of the greater risks, and occupy probably the least defensible position of any, for the premiums saved are the smallest, and it means a still further restriction in the operation of averages. The principle of varying degrees of hazard cannot be expected to be operative with any great degree of accuracy in a single community. All of these plans make little or no provision for the conflagration hazard, against which even the largest insurance companies must make careful preparation.

A municipality, however, in the event of a disastrous fire can meet the loss by an addition to taxes, which will be of small importance in the individual case, although at a time of conflagration they will be more onerous than usual, or can create an artificial average by means of its borrowing power, spreading the loss over a series of years. It should always be remembered that any departure from full insurance is an assumption of risk, and the question to be decided is whether the premiums saved warrant the risk taken. The answer should be based on expert analysis of conditions and scientific study of data.⁵

⁵ The Prudential Insurance Company of America has issued in connection with its exhibit at the Panama-Pacific Exposition a pamphlet entitled "The Documentary History of Insurance," which readers of Mr. Blanchard's article will find interesting.

SHORT ARTICLES

AMERICAN MUNICIPAL PROGRESS¹

BY THOMAS ADAMS

*Ottawa, Canada*²

THAT there has been real and substantial municipal progress in America in recent years is evident to every visitor to the United States and every reader of current literature on municipal subjects. Americans are beginning to clear themselves of the imputation contained in the statement of Viscount Bryce that municipal government was the one conspicuous failure of the republic. Professor Zueblin's book shows how great are the advances that are being made in civic improvement and organized betterment of municipal conditions in the States.

Although this is a report of the progress of work that has been and is being done, and although the author has not stinted us in regard to statistical information and records of achievement, the book is full of constructive thought and suggestion.

Professor Zueblin's method of interspersing his text at frequent intervals with staccato sentences in which he emphasizes the points he wishes to make as he proceeds, seems at times to jar on the reader, although it has peculiar merits. The conclusions are given with the argument instead of being marshalled at the end of the book and as presented are convenient for reference or quotation. And indeed, there is much in the book that is worth quoting some of it merely because of the way in which it is stated. For instance:

"Adults are like children, destructive until their imaginations are set to work at creation."

"Efficiency is coming to be stated not only in terms of profit and product but of human welfare."

"Riches increase faster than the taste and intelligence to use them."

In stating that the city should conserve its human as well as its natural resources, Professor Zueblin is only expressing the obvious, and yet it is one of the things which needs to be constantly reiterated. Natural resources represent money wealth, and so do property rights. It only requires average intelligence to appreciate the advantage

¹ American Municipal Progress. By Charles Zueblin. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

² Town planning adviser, Commission of Conservation, Canada. Late town planning inspector, Local Government Board of England and Wales.

of conserving these resources and rights. A higher level of intelligence is needed to appreciate the value of conserving human resources for it cannot be effectively done without a greater restraint on individual selfishness and a greater amount of co-operation than the self styled "practical" man thinks is good for the community. The worship of selfishness, which he calls "liberty," blinds him to the advantages of that restraint and co-operation which are essential to secure democratic efficiency.

The railway station as the city portal has a chapter to itself, and it deserves it, for America has recently made enormous strides in improving its railway terminal facilities. There is no mistaking the author's zeal for municipal ownership of public utilities and he claims and almost convinces the reader that this is needed in order to get good management as well as to eliminate wasteful competition and graft. "No engineering or financial ingenuity," he says, "can conceal the incapacity of the greatest railway men in the country to grasp the social significance of transportation." In spite of cases in which enterprise and efficiency has produced successes in railway management, it is a remarkable fact that there has been shown an appalling degree of short-sightedness and lack of business capacity in connection with railway construction and management. But can we accept municipal control as a desirable alternative without being sure that reliance will be placed on expert officials and that graft will be made a more difficult operation than it is at present? The author's task in showing the weaknesses of the existing system is easier of accomplishment than that of giving confidence in the alternative of municipal ownership, under the political system now in vogue. What we may regard as sound principles have to give way in so many instances to our lack of confidence in the kind of machinery that is available to apply them. American municipal progress has been great; how much greater might it not have been if the public and the legislators could have proceeded to do what they regarded as the proper thing, without having in their minds the probable character of the administrators?

From the description of the great terminals at Washington and New York and the transportation improvements at Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, etc., the author passes to the consideration of the city streets. Street widths and street decoration are dealt with. Next comes consideration of the city wastes and public health.

What will probably prove in time to be the most valuable contributions of the present generation of municipal administrators and reformers to civic progress in America, are their achievements in regard to improvement of public health conditions of cities, in the supply of water, the disposal of sewage, dealing with vital statistics, infant welfare, general public cleanliness, etc. Gradually the remedy of existing bad conditions is being accomplished as this book shows; indeed, it may not be a far cry

to the time when the municipal legislator will learn the old fashioned truth that prevention is cheaper than cure. Mr. Zueblin touches on a matter of great importance in the opening words of his chapter on water and sewerage when he says that "The waste of water in American cities is one reason for the toleration of an inferior water supply. . . . Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Chicago furnish over 200 gallons per capita per day, Buffalo and Salt Lake City over 300." In an English city from 25 to 50 gallons per capita is the estimated consumption. With conservation methods it should not be more than double the largest of these figures in America.

While the statement of the author—that the protection of property has been considered as much more important than the saving of life—may be largely true, it is remarkable the extent to which this book itself indicates a change towards a more altruistic attitude both on the part of government bodies and individuals. Human life is becoming more highly valued and the "license" of the property owner to do as he chooses no matter how the health or property of others may suffer from his actions, is no longer so strongly entrenched behind the dictum of the courts. The term "general welfare" in the police power of the States had been largely ignored in legal circles until quite recently, but recent decisions indicate that even the courts are beginning to recognize that "rights" may be interpreted in terms of humanity as well as terms of property.

This book necessarily covers so wide a field that it is impossible to do more than touch very briefly on some of the extensive series of questions with which it deals. Improvement in methods and administration of education and educational institutions, recreation facilities, take up several chapters and would by themselves form an instructive volume. Here again there is evidence of a steady advance along the right lines—the development of character rather than the giving of mere instruction appears to be the direction in which educational work is tending.

In his chapter on city planning, the author describes the plans, and the process of growth of some of the chief American cities in the following categories: Seaports, river cities, hill cities, prairie cities. Two of his dicta require to be read together and thought about.

(1) "The unobstructed tree-lined vista of the American street is America's chief contribution to city making" (page 10).

(2) "Pasadena tries to make up in profuse planting for its monotonous planning" (page 330).

The social functions of the city are dealt with in the order of business, communication, public life, residence and recreation. The great part played by housing improvement in British and Canadian town planning with which I have had experience, always makes me disappointed with an American review of this subject. In the chapter on city planning,

one and a half pages are given to "bill boards" and the housing question is dismissed in about 15 lines relating to preserving residential districts. Surely there is no matter connected with city life which is more important, or the improvement of which is more involved in the planning of the city than that of housing. To plan extensions of towns and cities so that many of the existing insanitary and expensive housing conditions can be *prevented* is one of the biggest problems before American cities to-day. In relation to it has to be considered transportation, adjustment of cost of local improvements to cost of dwelling, variation in width of streets, land values, system of municipal taxation, degree of density of building, etc.

Professor Zueblin might have left out that over-done comparison of the Briton and the German with the usual compliment to the efficiency of the latter. Americans have yet to learn that Britain offers us the best example of municipal government applicable to a democracy. Britain has certainly not muddled its municipal institutions. The much paraded German efficiency is responsible for the housing of 32,000 inhabitants per square kilometre in Berlin as against 15,000 in London, for 45 per cent of back-dwellings in Berlin, for a tuberculosis death rate in Berlin half as great again as that in London, and for a proportion of 17 per cent of illegitimate births in Berlin, as against 5 per cent in London. German efficiency in Berlin makes only 19 per cent of its young men born in Berlin, of Berlin parents, fit for service.³

When British cities are declared by Dr. Powers to be managed at a cost of 40 per cent less per capita than American cities there can be little muddling. Personally I have seen a good deal of municipal government and so-called efficiency in management and I have yet to see anything so clean, economical and efficient as British local government. I speak of the United Kingdom and not of Canada for the latter is like the "States" in that it is still experimenting with "systems."

One dangerous phrase is used towards the end of the book namely—"Home rule is indispensable to municipal efficiency." The author must know that there can be no such thing in practice as "home rule" for a city, in the sense of freeing the city from state jurisdiction, if that is his meaning. His book is full of proofs of the advantage and the necessity for joint action between the city and the state—all the more needed if they are to control public utilities. He speaks of Galveston having "cemented its relation to state and nation by building a concrete causeway." He refers to the difficulties of unification in regard to transit in metropolitan New York and Boston, and in regard to sewerage in metropolitan Chicago. The word "metropolitan," as used to designate the mother-city and its off-spring, cannot exist in a home rule vocabulary. Toledo's lack of home rule in its streets, is not want of freedom from state control; it is want of freedom from interference from the courts. Co-operation and a right adjustment of relationship between

³ "Dwellings in Berlin," by T. C. Horsfall, *Town Planning Review*, July, 1915.

the city and the state is what is required, with an expert board attached to the state to administer municipal affairs. Only with such co-operation can legal interference with the affairs of local government and the undue influence of vested interests in property be fought.

Home rule in a city may be more practicable under an autocratic government, because the rule of the city can be placed in the hands of expert dictators. In no democratic state, however, can there be anything approaching a full measure of home rule for cities without the sacrifice of efficiency.

The state is largely concerned in the maintenance of constitutional rights of individuals, subject to the superior powers of the supreme courts, and the city cannot effectively control private interests in property and public utilities without the assistance of the state. The state is also the proper authority to deal with a situation which involves the joint action of two or more local authorities, or which arise out of differences between these authorities.

It would seem to be inevitable and desirable that there should be state control over city government, but it should be an essential part of the state machinery to have an expert department of municipal affairs so that local questions could be settled on principle and by men with adequate knowledge and skill to deal with the problems involved. The present impatience of city governments with the interference of state governments may be due to the fact that local questions are settled by amateur legislators without the assistance of expert advice. In that respect the British system with its Local Government Board as a central advisory body has worked smoothly and efficiently and is worthy of careful study.

My admiration for this book is none the less because I have ventured to express some criticism of the author's point of view on one or two questions. The book will be of great service to anyone desirous of obtaining a general review of American municipal progress. The writer tells his story in a pleasant and impressive way, and with not a little humour.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT¹

BY HOWARD STRONG

Minneapolis

ONE is inclined to undertake the review of a book of this character with a firmly established prejudice. So much has been written on this subject which is inadequate, so many solemnly enunciated principles have been proven impractical or erroneous, so little has been put forward in standard form by those who really know; that one views with suspicion any attempt at encompassing in the

¹Community Development. By Frank Farrington. New York: Ronald Press Co., 20 Vesey St. \$1.50.

space of two hundred and fifty pages an adequate conception of the organization or conduct of a civic or commercial body in a town or city. One's prejudices, however, begin to weaken with the reading of the introduction on "how to make use of this book," and the first two or three chapters bring the conviction that Mr. Farrington has here presented a volume which shows a keen insight into the problems of the community organization.

Whether or not Mr. Farrington has organized half a dozen commercial clubs, has been secretary of each of them in turn, and has solved one after another of their problems, I do not know, but if he has not, he possesses an almost unbelievable capacity for placing himself in the position of the man who has. He does not present the problems from the standpoint of the member who has had a casual acquaintance with his commercial club, but he takes the position of the secretary who has found it necessary to understand the psychology of the average citizen, to see his viewpoint, and through this understanding to turn the natural interests of the average citizen to account for the welfare of his community. This excerpt from Mr. Farrington's chapter on organizing a commercial club adequately illustrates the keen insight which he possesses into the mental process of the human animal as a potential commercial club factor:

It is the necessity for getting the right man at the head of the commercial club that makes it advisable that such an organization be formed in the first place on a cut-and-dried plan. Instead of calling together all the business men of the community and forming an organization off-hand in an open meeting with no advance plans, there should be a private caucus held previous to the organization meeting.

This caucus, an informal gathering of half a dozen of the business men best suited to judge of the wisest ways and means and best able to select the appropriate officers, should arrange the entire procedure of the first meeting before it is called for the purpose of organizing. Every detail should be planned in advance, down to who shall make each motion and who shall second it. Nothing should be left to chance.

There are two reasons for these careful advance plans. One is that in no other way can sufficient judgment be exercised to secure a wise organization, and the other is that without this prearrangement there will be a dull meeting with everything hanging fire and no snap or go or enthusiasm. Every one will sit still and wait for some one else to do the talking, and after electing the oldest merchant in town as president, the meeting will adjourn and the men will go home with cold feet, leaving another merchants' association well started on its way to the commercial club graveyard.

Advance plans, however, should be kept quiet. If the club starts off with an idea on the part of its members that the organizing has been done by a clique, there will be a feeling that the club is going to be run by the few and for the benefit of the few, and no one will be satisfied.

The officers should be chosen solely with a view to their fitness for the work at hand, and care should be taken to avoid selecting all the officers from any known business group, or church, or fraternal organization.

While the organization should be effected by prearranged and even secret plans, concealment should stop right there and everything should be open and above board. The club must be run on the square.

The first part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the characteristics of the average small town. Mr. Farrington emphasizes particularly the opportunities which it possesses over its larger neighbors, of which advantage must be taken as capital to be used by the commercial club. This is the pith of his argument:

While no town is likely to become the perfect ideal, still in town building as in character building, the tendency must be toward the ideal. The small town possesses an opportunity not possessed by the city for developing ideal conditions. A high average of citizenship is more nearly possible in the small town than in the city, because there is less tendency toward the extremes of society. There is not the opportunity to become superlatively rich, and there is not the opportunity to live a superlatively depraved life without being known to do so. Every one in the small town knows who are the very poor and help can go straight to the mark. Every one knows who are those of the lowest moral stratum and there, too, help can be directed aright. Work to develop a high community average of character is simple and direct in the small town, while in the city it is more likely to be complicated and roundabout. Just as a small business can more easily be handled so as to produce a proper profit than a large business with many ramifications, so the smaller town can more easily than the city be made to develop upward tendencies.

He then discusses a possible procedure which can be followed in building the commercial organization, the essential details which are likely to lead to success, already indicated in the first quotation. The following quotation indicates his appreciation of what actually occurs in almost every organization and its inevitable results:

Canvass the town thoroughly and give every one an opportunity, but let every one who refuses be left in such a mental attitude as will make it easy to renew the request later. Instead of saying sarcastically, "Oh, well, if you don't want to help along the good of the town, of course you don't need to do it," say, "Of course you know best what you want to do and if you don't feel like joining now, let it go. Perhaps later you will have more time for it. We will hope to have you with us some day, and even if you don't join, we know you are in sympathy with our work." It is very likely that a few more members might be secured at the time of the canvass by using the more strenuous means of semi-compulsion, but the eventual development and usefulness of the organization is best subserved by the more politic method and that will in the end produce the largest membership. . . .

After the organization is well started it is better to let the effort to secure members fall into the background for a time, giving the public an opportunity to join by extending a general invitation to a meeting now and then with the request to come prepared to join, but omitting urgent solicitation. The organization will be the more successful for

making it in some degree a privilege to be a member than it will if there is no one in town who has not been hounded about the matter until weary of it.

The book then devotes several chapters to a discussion of actual plans which may be followed by the community organization for the development or improvement of its town. One who has been a student of organization methods immediately recognizes in these suggestions plans which have borne the test of actual experience and which have been repeatedly successful. It is this part of the book which is perhaps of greatest value. Enough of a program is suggested here, almost every part of which is adaptable to the average town, to keep any commercial club busy for several years, and the fruition of these plans could not but bring the result for which every properly organized community body seeks. The underlying principles which should govern the sort of things which may properly be undertaken by the commercial club is well suggested in the following paragraphs:

If the commercial club or the village improvement society could decide amicably to use its influence on the right side of a local option election, it obviously might help to bring about better local conditions; but the attempt to use such an organization as a means of promulgating the doctrines of license or no-license would probably produce more ill feeling and cause more antagonism to its future work in all lines than would be offset by any possible good it might accomplish in the actual excise election.

In the same way, where the community becomes divided on one of those questions that sometimes do upset the equilibrium of a village to the extent of dividing churches and separating families, it is better to leave all discussion of the matter out of the organization. Where the two sides in a fight for a new high school building, or a sewer system, or a paved street cannot see anything good in each other's position, and where there is every form of fight over the question save actual physical warfare and the throwing of bricks, the subject may well be omitted from the councils of the improvement society or the commercial club.

Mr. Farrington is particularly fortunate in his discussion of successful methods which may be used in the industrial development of a town:

. . . It has, however, been demonstrated time and again that to hire a broken-down manufacturing concern to move into a village by giving it a bonus in one form or another is not necessarily wise.

. . . The man who will accept a handicap, . . . in order to secure a little financial aid, is not usually a good risk. The kind of assistance that is most practical and that the responsible as well as the irresponsible manufacturer sometimes wants, is capital. The commercial club can perhaps afford to employ an expert to investigate the actual facts about the applicant and then give these facts to the local capitalist who should be willing to advance money to the enterprise on security thus demonstrated to be worth while. If the commercial club cannot after in-

vestigation indorse the concern, then it is better that it go to some other place to locate for the short time it will last.

. . . . The introduction of alien labor will inevitably have the effect of weakening the moral fiber of the community and of causing a definite deterioration of its institutions. Something more than the financial side of the question should be considered.

Before advertising a town as wanting manufacturing plants, there should be a painstaking consideration of the question of whether it has any advantages to offer to such a business, whether indeed it is not handicapped to such an extent by location that no concern worth having would move there.

If manufacturing or other industries are desired, the boosters of the village should find out first of all for what their community is particularly fitted—what kind of industry it will serve best, and what kind will best serve it.

Mr. Farrington's book is rounded out with a somewhat detailed discussion of the people of the town and the function which various prominent professions can well perform in the community's growth. His appreciation of the attitude which the town's people must hold toward their own community is well epitomized:

Any community whose citizens, or any considerable proportion of them, insist on standing on the side-lines and criticizing the work of the players, will be a failure as a team proposition. It may perhaps afford amusement for the time being to the critics who do not realize that they are damaging their own interests by their attitude, but it can never attain the prosperity or advancement it should. Who ever knew of the success of any athletic team when some of the members regarded the rest of the team as "They"? All business successes are built on a "We" rather than on a "They" basis. The keynote to a boy's business character and possibilities is usually found in the length of time it takes him to get the habit of talking about his employer's force as "We."

There are two classes of citizens in the town—useful citizens and others. The others are they who talk to their fellow inhabitants about "Your streets," "Your churches," "Your schools," "Your village."

It is usually assumed that the reviewer has not done his duty unless he has found much in his subject to criticize. In this instance criticism must in general be based rather upon the emphasis which is laid on some principles than upon actual disagreement with these principles.

Mr. Farrington is a little inclined perhaps to leave the impression that the function of the business man's community organization is largely commercial; that the civic, social and moral uplift of the community may be left to the women. He says that "The idea that the women's organization has nothing to do with the business men's and that the men should take entire charge of that part of the work is a mistaken one," but he does not give the converse of the proposition which is that even as the women may be expected to be interested in the commercial development of the town, so the men must be held responsible for its civic and social

development. He suggests separate organizations; the commercial club for the men of the community and an improvement association which will have charge of the civic and social development of the community, and which will be left largely to the tender mercies of the feminine contingency. I can see no reason why the commercial club should not include both men and women members, and in its activities embrace both commercial and civic advancement.

In only one instance can I seriously disagree with Mr. Farrington. He proposes that under some circumstances the community organization take part in insuring the election of good men to office. I believe experience indicates that this function cannot be performed by the organization, which, in seeking the development of its community, must work in harmony with public officials no matter how or what they may be. The organization which passes on the merits of candidates must be an entirely separate organization from the commercial club, and the men who are prominent in the one must not be over-prominent in the other.

The book might be somewhat shortened without the loss of valuable material. The same subjects are occasionally discussed in two or three separate chapters, and some condensation with the addition of a topical index would make it a little more practical as a text book and more valuable for reference.

The book can be recommended not only to small towns and villages, but to large cities which are contemplating the organization or re-organization of their community bodies, and not only to those citizens who are already conducting successful organizations in small towns, but also to citizens in large cities as well.²

CIVIC CO-OPERATION: THE INDUSTRIAL CLUB PLAN

BY ANGUS S. HIBBARD¹

Chicago

THE Industrial club of Chicago, in an endeavor to provide a practical opportunity for participation in civic helpfulness by a large number of citizens, about nine months ago presented to the mayor of Chicago a plan for civic co-operation.

In this it was proposed, first, that the police, health and public works Departments of the city should work together in carrying out ordinances

²The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW has published the following articles dealing with the same general subject, which readers of Mr. Strong's article will find interesting:

The Modern Chamber of Commerce, Ryerson Ritchie, Vol. I, p. 161; The Houston Chamber of Commerce, Jerome H. Farbar, Vol. II, p. 104; A Community Secretary, Graham Taylor, Vol. IV, p. 281.

¹Chairman, committee on civic co-operation of the Industrial Club of Chicago.

relating to health, sanitation, fire prevention and police protection; and, second, that accredited citizens should be furnished with a summary of city ordinances and a card of credentials signed by the necessary authorities and indorsed by the club, requesting them to assist and co-operate with these authorities in bringing about desired results. The selection and approval of civic co-operators was left in the hands of the Industrial club, an organization of about eighty business men of Chicago.

The plan was approved by the mayor and the co-ordination of the city departments was brought about under his direction, so that all policemen in the city are instructed to enforce the ordinances referred to, as well as criminal ordinances. A summary of the ordinances was prepared by the city and put into the hands of policemen and ordered to be made a part of their equipment. The department of health located a sanitary inspector in each of the 45 police stations, which were made the centers of these forty-five districts for police-sanitary purposes.

The appointment of a chairman in each district was then taken up by the club and about November, 1915, the enlistment of civic co-operators began. The movement has been extended gradually through improvement associations, business men's clubs, church clubs and similar bodies. The plan proposes that there shall be at least one civic co-operator in each city block who will undertake to look out particularly for that one block and interest as many as possible of the neighbors in the Co-operator work. These co-operators undertake for themselves to observe the ordinances and regulations relating to sanitation, fire prevention, police protection, etc., and by example and suggestion to bring about their observance by others and for that purpose to aid and as requested to report to or call upon the city authorities to secure their enforcement. This means that a civic co-operator, observing an ordinance violation, is expected either to bring it to the attention of the person who has caused it, or to report it to a policeman on the beat or by telephone or mail to the police station in the district in which it occurs. If the situation is not remedied within a reasonable time, the co-operator is to report the violation to the chairman of the co-operators in the district in which it occurred. If not then promptly attended to, the chairman is expected to take the matter up with the captain of police in the district. If it should happen in any case that the police captain fails to act, the district chairman is instructed to take the matter up with the general chairman of the civic co-operation committee of the club, who has been asked by the mayor to take up directly with him any such failure.

Thus it is designed to set up a large volunteer body of citizens on a well organized plan, to work in conjunction with their neighbors and with the authorities in bringing about correction, principally of what may be called minor violations of ordinances which, however, in the aggregate bring about uncontrollable conditions. The work primarily relates to

the bettering of conditions in streets, alleys and public ways, and to some extent in private premises. An experience of a few months has shown that not only such conditions but many others have been successfully undertaken by co-operators. Although the present enrollment is but few over 3000, the reports received indicate that the plan is succeeding and is making possible practical co-operative work by citizens which is of immediate and actual benefit.

The latest pamphlet issued by the committee on co-operation contains many examples taken from co-operators' reports, such as:

Engine and concrete mixer left in street after the completion of a building; reported by telephone; obstruction removed and the street cleaned up the following day.

Tool shanty left in street after completion of an apartment house; contracting firm called by telephone; promised to remove it; this was done the same day.

Neighbor depositing garbage on the curbstone; policeman notified; garbage removed at once.

Asked neighbors to assist in removing ice from sidewalks; was surprised at the hearty response.

Zone of quiet suggested in the neighborhood of churches during services; general order issued by superintendent of police to accomplish this.

Janitor shaking rugs on sidewalk was shown co-operator card; promised not to do it again.

Boys building bonfire in alley; showed them card; they put out the fire.

Stopped several cases of spitting in street cars and improper dumping of ashes, and secured removal of dead animals since receiving co-operator card.

Stopped boys breaking street signs, hitching on railway trains, building bonfires, and stealing grain from boxcars; helped a neighbor who had been cheated by a tradesman; stopped a peddler from beating horses.

Stopped a woman throwing feathers in alley, and children from building a fire near a wooden fence.

Assisted a man who fell and broke his leg; policeman in charge of ambulance thanked me and was glad to see my card.

Persuaded building contractor to remove large and objectionable pile of manure.

Reported holes in street to railway surface supervisor; immediate action was taken.

Reported dead animal to policeman; removed in few hours; also secured help of neighbors in clearing walk of ice and snow.

Several street and alley conditions reported and at once corrected by ward superintendent; gave him my card number.

Sanitary violation and defective sidewalk reported; gave my number.

Reported intoxicated person on elevated platform to ticket agent when alighting from the next station; action was secured when co-operator card was shown.

Broken glass being thrown in sewer by porter; immediately stopped by proprietor when co-operator card was shown.

Neighbor shown card; corrected unsanitary conditions in back yard; also assisted in keeping walks clear of ice.

Wagons removed from sidewalk by appealing to police; also large manure boxes which had long been a nuisance.

Disorderly pool room reported to police sergeant; condition remedied same day and the thanks of neighbors received.

Man stopped throwing ashes in alley when shown my card.

Condition in alley reported to policeman who promised to take care of it and asked if I was a co-operator. Said I was not, and he told me I had better join; I wish to be enrolled.

The Industrial club furnishes to each co-operator a summary of the ordinances of the city relating to sanitation, health, fire prevention and police protection, and has offered to the superintendent of schools and the board of education of Chicago to furnish a sufficient number of these ordinance summaries for use in the public schools to make it possible to teach the city's ordinances and laws relating to these civic conditions to students in upper grades of common schools and in the high schools of the city. It is the belief that if one of these ordinances may be the subject of a brief lesson each day the younger generation can be given the opportunity to become more appreciative of the city's laws and become more law-abiding and helpful in civic endeavor.

The movement, which is now fairly established in Chicago, has been brought to a point where an extended growth is anticipated and this will be developed by presentation of the plan to organizations of every kind in which the members are interested in city betterment. All of the city departments are working with the co-operator movement in the heartiest manner, and no case has yet been reported in which they have failed to respond promptly. The committee believes that it may hope to provide the opportunity to a large number of citizens in Chicago to become a real and practical force for civic betterment, without expense to themselves but only with the intention and effort to improve conditions around them by enrollment as Civic Co-operators.

DEVELOPING A SOCIAL BETTERMENT PROGRAM AS A BUSINESS PROPOSITION

BY EUGENIUS H. OUTERBRIDGE

New York

IN THE evolution of municipal government certain tendencies have become so marked in recent years that they may now be said to represent not only an expression of the ideals and definite desires of municipal communities, but also the policy of municipal administrations. Among the most marked of these tendencies is that which is

called the program for the social betterment of the conditions in which the wage earning classes live. Education, health, transportation, recreation and sanitation may be said broadly to cover the subject headings under which the social improvement program is developed, upon which vast sums of money are expended and for the extension and improvement of which there is a constantly increasing demand. That this is good in itself is indisputable, but that the struggle for its accomplishment leads to some embarrassing, and indeed unfortunate, results is equally true.

The trend of education is to turn out thousands of young men and women grounded in an education which, intentionally or otherwise, turns their thoughts and aspirations towards what they consider a higher field of endeavor for their life's work than manual or trade work. The number which continue their studies after leaving the public schools, with the view of adopting some profession or specializing in higher knowledge, is but a very small proportion of the whole. Much the larger proportion at once seek to enter what may be broadly called commercial life. They not only have no desire, but are distinctly averse to seeking pursuits elsewhere than in large towns or cities. The whole social program of municipal government is calculated to intensify the trend of people towards towns and cities and the educational system to create in them the desire to find their future employment in the towns and cities. The result is that at all times, whatever the conditions of business, however active and prosperous general conditions may be, there is an overwhelmingly large supply of young men and women seeking employment, their numbers far exceeding the number of available situations. There is perhaps no other labor market in the world where there is always such an excess of supply as that in the towns and cities seeking commercial occupations.

The social program is one of the largest items in the budget of every municipality and the expenditures on its behalf continue annually to turn out elements in our cities, who in turn continually press for an expansion of the program, and so the budgets of municipalities grow and grow and the burden of taxation increases, while among this vast army seeking employment there grows coincidently a sense of disappointment and unrest because their opportunities are not what they expected and their compensation relatively the lowest because of the excess of the supply.

Should this question not be considered a business question?

How would a business man or corporation set about seeking a market for its products?

Any merchant or manufacturer who continued to increase his productive capacities, investing continually larger sums in production, while remaining passive in developing outlets for it, would in time necessarily reach bankruptcy.

Municipalities, at a constantly increasing capital expenditure, have been steadily increasing their production and output of individuals thrown upon the market educated to seek, in a general way, a certain line of employment, and as yet have made little or no coincident endeavor as a municipal program to find a market for the production, resulting in many municipalities having reached a high cost of administration which, if not approaching bankruptcy, has at least led to a high level of taxation and an addition to the high cost of living, which has an important, and, in some ways, disastrous reflex action upon the happiness, contentment and prosperity of its citizens.

What then should be done to rectify these difficulties which have become so clearly apparent to students of municipal problems? Should not the municipality, like the merchant or the manufacturer, adopt as a part of its municipal program the creation of facilities calculated to attract to it industries which would furnish employment, and therefore provide a market for the surplus products of the municipal social program?

Such a policy would have at least a two-fold advantage: It would be not only finding a market for the employment of these surplus products of humanity, but it would be increasing the city's income by the development of the taxable values of the property which the attracted industries would create. Heretofore this work of attracting industries to communities has been almost exclusively by private efforts of individuals or commercial organizations, and but few municipalities have made it a distinctive part of municipal policy and administration.

Municipal governments have heretofore given much more thought as to how much they could raise existing taxable values than to how much they could normally and naturally develop values for taxation by attracting capital and enterprise for industrial development.

It is not the purpose of this article to attempt to define the many ways in which such a suggested municipal policy might be worked out. Localities and conditions vary so widely as to make it almost a local problem in each case. The purpose is merely to suggest the idea for consideration and discussion—whether such a method of stimulating municipal income and providing a market for the human output of municipal social endeavor should not form as important a part of municipal government as any other, and be provided for by the creation of a bureau or department equipped with men of trained business experience to plan and develop such a policy; and would not capital expended by municipalities in this direction tend to become at least self-supporting, if not a source of new income and profit, materially helping to carry the cost of the social program which, as at present administered, tends rather to increase than to reduce the cost of municipal life and administration.

THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF CLEVELAND

BY RAYMOND MOLEY

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CLEVELAND was one of the first of the great cities to follow the example of Chicago in reconstructing its courts to meet the needs of modern city life. For many years the justice court disposed of all minor civil business. All the evils which attend the survival of the city justice court were present in Cleveland intensified by the fact that many justices elected in rural districts maintained offices within the city. This was made possible by the provisions of the state constitution giving a justice jurisdiction coterminous with the country. To put an end to their activity a committee of the chamber of commerce prepared a municipal court bill which passed the legislature. The municipal court of Cleveland began its work on January 1, 1912.

The court is not a part of the city administration. The supreme court of Ohio has held it to be a state court. Yet its efficiency is increased by certain correlations with city departments. For example, its police prosecutors are appointed by the city solicitor and are officially his assistants. Police officers are ex-officio bailiffs of the court and all deputy clerks and bailiffs are subject to the civil service of the city.

Its original civil jurisdiction covers all actions for the recovery of money or personal property when the amount claimed does not exceed \$1,000 and all actions on contracts when the amount involved does not exceed \$2,500. Jurisdiction extends to all such cases when one or both of the parties are residents of Cleveland. The court has criminal jurisdiction of all misdemeanors and violations of city ordinances. In felonies it has the jurisdiction of the examining magistrate.

There are ten judges, one of whom is chief justice. The latter receives a salary of \$5,000; each of his associates \$4,500. The chief justice is the administrative head of the court. He presides at all meetings of the judges, has full charge of the classification and assignment of cases, requires reports from the judges, and prepares an annual report. The judges are required to meet monthly in a body for the discussion of business: to prescribe forms and establish systems of docketry and recording. Perhaps their most important and unique power is that by which they make rules for their own procedure. The clerk is elected by popular vote for a term of four years. The city council determines the number of deputies and the clerk appoints them from an eligible list prepared by the civil service commission. The bailiff and his deputies

are taken from the classified civil service lists of the city and are appointed by the judges of the court. Their number is determined by the judges.

The act provides that all causes shall be tried by the court unless a jury is demanded. A municipal court jury consists of six members unless the parties agree upon a smaller number. Either party may demand twelve, however. In civil actions a verdict is rendered upon the concurrence of three fourths of the jury. A wise and economical method of providing juries has been devised by the chief justice. A list of available citizens is kept with the names of the most desirable at the head. When demanded a jury can be summoned on short notice by mail or telephone. This system is in marked contrast to the Chicago method of keeping a number of juries on hand at all times. Thousands of dollars in fees are saved by the Cleveland method.

A statistician is employed by the court who assists the chief justice in keeping his records and in preparing the annual report. The possibilities and advantages of accurate records are obvious. In estimating the work of the court the records of four years are available.

The chief justice is designated as the administrative head of the court. He may permit or require judges to specialize in certain classes of cases by the exercise of his duty of assigning cases. He may eliminate waste by directing judicial energy to the point where it is most needed. The bailiffs are subject to the supervision of the judges and likewise the police when they are acting as municipal court bailiffs. The chief justice has no control over the clerk's office.

The criminal branch of the court differs in that it has one judge instead of two and a larger number of prosecutors and probation officers. Scientific police court methods are perhaps as highly developed in Cleveland as in any American city. Every effort is made to conserve judicial energy by settling difficulties out of court. A system of dealing with complaints by bringing the parties together in a prosecutor's office eliminates hundreds of unnecessary trials. A personal bond system has practically driven the professional bondsmen out of business in Cleveland.

Judges are nominated individually by petition or may be placed in nomination by a party at a primary. The names of all nominees then appear at election on a non-partisan judicial ballot. A provision in the constitution of Ohio makes necessary the election of all court clerks. An effort has been made to bring the clerk under the control of the judges by providing that the chief justice should also be clerk. This was a failure because of the opposition of powerful political influence.

The need of a commercial court was the motive which first prompted the chamber of commerce to interest itself in creating a city court. To determine whether this need had been met, a list of questions was mailed by the chamber to all the leading law firms of Cleveland. Nearly all of the replies spoke in high terms of its efficiency in commercial cases.

Perhaps the most important problem which municipal courts must solve is the disposition of the great number of small civil suits which arise in the complex life of the great city. Grave injustice is done when inferior courts do not care for the difficulties of the poor man simply, speedily and at a small cost.

The Cleveland court is not self-sustaining. The actual cost of maintaining it above all receipts has in two years amounted to more than \$100,000. The Chicago court finished its first year with a surplus of \$8,000. The friends of the Cleveland court are disposed to point with some pride to the contrast in this respect. They hold that if the civil branch is to maintain well paid judges ministering to rich and poor alike and the criminal branch to concern itself with correction and probation rather than fines there is no reason to expect a surplus. In a letter to a committee of Cleveland judges, Ex-President Taft said in this connection: "The giving to poor litigants the opportunity to defend or prosecute with least expense is one of the objects for which I think the receipts from general taxation may well be spent."

The rules of procedure adopted by the judges of the court are few and simple. No case can fail for lack of form. The litigant who invokes the aid of the court can easily comprehend the procedure by which the equity of his claim is determined. With or without the aid of a lawyer he may bring the aid of a great institution to collect his just dues.

The speed with which business is done may be judged by the fact that the court at this writing is less than two weeks behind its docket. If so desired a case may be set for a week after it is filed. Another quality that should go with speed is finality of judgment. Cases decided in the municipal court cannot be appealed except for error. This finality of judgment is necessary if the poor man is to cope on equal terms with his wealthier antagonist. During the first two years of the court's operation a total of 23,363 cases were filed. Of these, 325 were appealed in error. Of these, only 66 were reversed, a total of only one fourth of 1 per cent of the cases filed.

Cost schedules in force in most courts are suggestive of days where means of communication were primitive and labor saving devices unknown. The Cleveland judges have devised a schedule of fees based upon the actual cost of services performed. Many suggestions have been made that all fees in such courts should be abolished. Ex-President Taft in the letter quoted above says: "I lean very strongly toward abolishing all fees and having the court maintained by general taxation; especially such a court as yours." Louis D. Brandeis and Senator LaFollette have concurred in this belief. Constitutional difficulties stand in the way of abolishing fees in Ohio so the policy is followed of paying all fixed charges such as salaries, rent and supplies, from general taxation and fixing fees at the actual cost of the services which the filing of the cause

makes necessary. A few items taken from the cost bill may be interesting to those familiar with fees charged elsewhere:

Issuing writs orders or notices	25 cts.
Filing papers, each	5 cts.
Issuing subpoenas	5 cts.
Garnishee's fee in all cases	25 cts.
Service and return of writs by bailiff	50 cts.
mail	20 cts
registered mail	30 cts.

The service of writs by mail is one of the innovations tried by the Cleveland court. This is provided in an amendment to the act creating the court. The court rules provide that a writ deposited in the mail shall be proof of residence service at the address on the envelope but any one requesting service by bailiff is entitled thereto.

Unquestionably any reform which makes justice so accessible and cheap must increase the number of those who go to court with cases of little or no consequence. The Cleveland court has provided for this by establishing two very important divisions: one to give free legal advice and assistance, and the other to adjust small cases by conciliation.

The clerk's office maintains a department designed to give free legal advice and to assist parties in preparing and filing suits. To the mass of the city's population this has become the best known part of the court. During the first year of its existence this department amicably settled twelve hundred cases and gave advice and assistance in hundreds of others. In these cases no charge was made. The service of such a bureau is of incalculable value both in rendering public service and in preventing unnecessary litigation from reaching the court itself.

A very interesting innovation in the administration of justice is to be found in the newly created conciliation branch of the municipal court. This was established by the judges of the court acting under the authority granted by the act. All claims for less than \$50, all cases of garnishment involving less than \$50 and all cases of replevin are entered upon the conciliation docket. The cases are assigned for a certain day and a notice of the claim and a request to appear are sent to the defendant. If he does not appear, a summons is issued. The parties are brought before the judge who seeks by wise questions and tactful advice to effect a settlement. If they agree upon a basis for settlement the costs are only 25 cents; if it becomes necessary for the judge to enter judgment the costs amount to 45 cents. During the first year 3,530 cases were disposed of by this branch. The whole spirit of the conciliation court is different from the ordinary law court. There is more quiet, more simplicity. There are no discussions of principles of law and no rules of procedure. After all it is in cases involving small sums that the large mass of the popu-

lation come in contact with the courts and common sense tribunals like this must be a potent factor in elevating the bench and bar to its former good graces in public opinion.

The movement which ended in the creation of the municipal court of Cleveland began in a monumental protest against the iniquities of the justice courts. Besides putting an end to these inadequate minor courts it has grown to meet the particular problems of a metropolitan community. It is a well organized machine in which centralized authority means efficiency in the transaction of a great volume of business. It provides wise and effective means for adjusting an unscientific criminal law to the new conditions of city life. It supplies the need for a commercial tribunal in a great industrial community and it disposes of a tremendous volume of petty litigation simply, rapidly, and at a nominal cost to litigants. Such favorable beginnings should justify the belief that Cleveland is well on the way toward the solution of a very real and vital problem.

WOMEN VOTERS IN CANADIAN CITIES

BY STUART CAMERON MCLEOD, PH.D.¹

New York City

SUPPORTERS as well as opponents of the equal suffrage movement in this country not infrequently attempt to base arguments on both sides of the question upon the experience of the Canadian cities, but, as a matter of fact, the practice of the Canadian municipalities can throw little if any light upon the probable effects of the abolition of sex lines in our own franchise laws on account of other fundamental differences which render it exceedingly difficult to draw sound comparisons between the voting qualifications of the two countries.

In Canada, the municipal franchise is essentially a tax-paying franchise and, while there are numerous differences in the detailed application of this plan, the municipal voters' list is universally compiled from the assessment roll and it is in municipal affairs only that the duty of voting has been imposed upon women. In provincial and national elections where the franchise is of what is commonly called the universal type, with registration provisions not unlike our own, voting is restricted to males. Viewed either from the standpoint of theory or of practice the admission of women to a logically limited franchise is an entirely different proposition from the universal enfranchisement of women as a class,

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involving, as it would, a proportionate increase in the total number of inefficient and unqualified voters as well as of the properly equipped.

The history of the development of the Canadian municipal franchise parallels the expansion of the field of local taxation. The early city charters enfranchised only the resident freeholders and for many years this class constituted the city electorate which probably accounts for the erroneous impression not infrequently encountered that the Canadian municipal franchise is essentially a property owning franchise. As other forms of wealth were incorporated into the expanding systems of taxation their owners were admitted to the franchise on the same basis as the owners of real property, on the theory that the individuals who bore the expense of city government would probably discharge the task of choosing its administrators in the most satisfactory manner. To-day, the city franchise, while differing somewhat from province to province, includes not only those persons assessed as owners or occupants of real estate but also those assessed in respect of personal property or income, persons paying a business tax and in some cases even a poll tax. The true nature of the franchise is evidenced in the fact that in several provinces corporations who can comply with these requirements are entitled to a vote in municipal elections. Residence requirements which were at one time universal have been generally abandoned in the case of owners of real property and this has created a potential class of non-resident and plural voters of considerable proportions if not of great activity.

Women were admitted to this franchise in most of the provinces between 1880 and 1890 although in British Columbia they have been eligible since 1873. In most of the provinces only unmarried women and widows are eligible, but in British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba all women are admitted provided of course they can meet the other qualifications. The difference is not of great importance because as a rule very few married women are independent taxpayers and in fact the proportion of female voters in those provinces which admit all women is if anything smaller than in those where only single women are eligible, a fact probably accounted for by the preponderance of males in the population of the western provinces.

NUMBER OF WOMEN VOTERS

The number of women who possess the required voting qualifications is not large in any of the provinces. It is somewhat difficult to secure absolutely accurate statistics in this particular as no separate lists are kept for the women voters but on the reports of city officials and from counts made of several voters' lists it would appear that women constitute on the average between 15 and 20 per cent of the total qualified electorate. The city of New Westminster, B. C., reports about 20 per cent while Vancouver in the same province reports only 10 per cent.

Regina, Saskatchewan, has between 20 and 25 per cent and Saskatoon only 10 per cent. The city of Toronto shows 12 per cent while London in the same province has 22 and Kingston 18 per cent. From many cities the number of women voters was reported as negligible, estimates running as low as 5 per cent in some cases.

These figures possess a certain significance in connection with the "taxation without representation" argument frequently advanced on behalf of the equal suffrage propaganda since they demonstrate pretty conclusively that the number of women taxpayers in the Canadian cities is relatively small and scarcely large enough to justify the enfranchisement of the whole class. In local affairs, at least, where the taxpayers are directly charged with the cost of public administration, it would not seem unreasonable to suppose that the most efficient electorate might be recruited from the tax-paying class. This principle, however, has never been generally applied in the American cities and even if we accept the somewhat doubtful economic doctrine of the shifting of a real property tax to the renters, it is still true that in most cases our city governments are chosen by an electorate composed for the most part of individuals who pay nothing or practically nothing toward defraying the cost of local administration and who consequently are not personally affected by its extravagance or economy. In almost every city of the United States to-day the taxpayer is out-voted but, if we accept the evidence of the Canadian cities, it does not appear that this condition would be in any way improved by the abolition of sex lines, since women apparently constitute only about one fifth of the tax-paying element. In fact the admission of all women instead of improving the situation of the tax paying portion of the population would render it even more helpless than at present since the total electorate would be practically doubled while the tax-paying portion would be increased only about 25 per cent.

On the much debated question as to whether or not women will use the franchise if it is extended to them, little evidence of value can be deduced from Canadian experience. The number of women voters who habitually discharge their annual civic duties in the Canadian municipalities is relatively small, rarely exceeding 15 per cent of those qualified; but if we accept the evidence of election statistics this apparently apathetic attitude toward municipal affairs is characteristic of all elements of the municipal electorate, being only slightly more marked among the women than among the male voters. In ten cities the average vote cast at a mayoralty election was about 35 per cent of the qualified electorate and in six of these the vote was below this average, four showing less than 25 per cent. These figures, however, must be taken with considerable reservation because of the number of non-resident voters who appear on all municipal lists and constitute an uncertain but no doubt substantial element of the eligible electorate, a very small portion of which is ever polled.

While the figures are by no means as significant as they would be in a more active electorate, they do indicate that, in so far as the Canadian cities are concerned, the male voter appears to be somewhat more conscientious or at least less indifferent in the discharge of his civic obligations than his female co-laborer. In the Toronto election of 1913 when a special effort was made by several womens' associations to "get out" the female vote, 16 per cent of the qualified women and 36 per cent of the eligible men voted for the mayoralty candidates. During a period of four consecutive years the average female vote in the city of London, Ontario, was 13 per cent of those qualified while during the same period about 45 per cent of the male vote was polled each year. In several cases the proportion of women voting was reported to be less than 5 per cent.

CRITICISMS OF THE SYSTEM

The prevailing indifference of the Canadian people toward this whole question would probably be a severe shock to those ardent spirits who wage the suffrage amendment conflicts in this country, but it only reflects the normal human attitude toward established political phenomena. Forty years of familiarity is probably more than enough to chill enthusiasm for any project after the stimulus of opposition has been removed. At all events it is exceedingly difficult to gauge the weight of Canadian opinion on the question of the value and effectiveness of the female vote, chiefly for the reason that in most cases there is no opinion. The existing practice has no enthusiastic defenders, possibly because it has few serious opponents. It is generally accepted as the logical development of an electorate based upon tax-paying qualifications and as such the burden of proof falls upon its critics. The most general criticism of the system is based upon the uncertainty of the female electorate. City officials and local politicians of various types claim that most of the women vote only when canvassed and that it is consequently impossible to foretell how many of them will go to the polls. There is practically no party organization in Canadian municipal elections and occasionally some individual candidate will unexpectedly "get out" the female vote and defeat his less enterprising opponent. While critics of the system admit that this might not be a serious evil in itself, they claim that coupled with the fact that the so-called better class of candidates do not as a rule resort to a personal canvass, and that the women do not exercise any particular discrimination so long as they are sufficiently urged, it does present dangerous possibilities in city elections. How true this allegation may be it is difficult to say. It was advanced by officials of several cities in different sections of the country and it is undoubtedly true that the percentage of voting women seems to vary more from year to year than does that of the men. For example the London statistics above cited show that

18 per cent of the eligible women voted in 1910 while the average for the succeeding three years was about 11 per cent, a drop of more than one third, while during the same period the male vote remained almost constant.

In conclusion it may be said that the female voters in the Canadian cities are no indication of a general attempt to abolish sex lines for voting purposes but simply the result of the logical development of a municipal electorate based upon tax-paying qualifications. And while there could be no serious objection to the admission of women to our city electorates upon a similar basis, the Canadian experience would seem to indicate that the number of women who would be thus enfranchised is comparatively small and unless they took their responsibilities a great deal more seriously than their Canadian sisters they would exercise practically no influence upon the results on general standards of city elections.

THE WOMAN VOTER AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM IN CHICAGO

BY EDITH ABBOTT

Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

CHICAGO is in the hands of the spoilsmen. The election of William Hale Thompson, the republican candidate for mayor, in the fateful spring election of 1915 fastened a spoils administration upon the city for a term of four years. It was the first mayoralty election in which the recently enfranchised women of Chicago had had a vote, and these politically inexperienced voters went on record for good government in the primary election when they cast a clear plurality of nearly 8,000 votes for Chief Justice Olson, the reform candidate. But the men, who are also voters in Chicago, gave a plurality of more than 10,000 votes for Mr. Thompson and the spoils system; and the city government thereby fell into the hands of one of the most vicious political machines that ever controlled the administration of a great city.

The election of 1915 is now "portion and parcel of the dreadful past," but the mayor of Chicago is elected for a four years term and Chicago will continue to pay heavy costs for that mistake during the next three years. When reformers of various shades of opinion intimate that it is the duty of the women voters to deliver Chicago out of the hands of the spoilsmen, the women remember that they did their best to prevent the catastrophe, but that the horse has been stolen and that it is now too late to lock the stable door. When they are asked why they "don't do something about Mayor Thompson," the women reply calmly that there is nothing that can be done and that for the next three years Chicago must continue to

endure its present humiliation and disgrace. But although the mayor's office cannot be redeemed, the fight for good government goes on in the attempt to elect anti-spoilsmen to the city council, and here, where there is still a field for civic progress, the women voters have shown themselves zealous. An analysis of the returns of the municipal election in the spring of 1915 was published in the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*,¹ and it showed that, in the aldermanic election of that year, the women had in general voted in proportionately larger numbers than the men for the good government candidates. This question of the influence of the women's vote in municipal affairs is a question so important, and so misunderstood, that it has seemed worth while to prepare a similar analysis of the returns in the aldermanic election of 1916 to see whether or not the influence of the women voters continued to be cast on the side of the good government forces.

The women of Illinois have only partial suffrage and they are therefore given special "women's ballots." Idle speculation as to how the women voted is unnecessary since the women's vote is recorded separately and published separately from the men's. The facts about the women's vote in the election of 1916 may be somewhat briefly summarized as follows: The returns show that only 54 per cent of the registered women voted whereas 68 per cent of the registered men voted on the same day. The fact that a smaller percentage of women came out to vote is not a matter for surprise. The woman's vote is an unknown quantity to the politician, and he is afraid of it. In general, the politicians are careful to make no effort to get the women to the polls. "Let sleeping dogs lie" and "don't try to stir up a hornet's nest" best express the suspicion with which the ward politician eyes the new voter. In Chicago, therefore, the money that is spent on election day in "getting out the vote" is used to "get out" the men voters. The women are politically unorganized. They have preferred to remain independent and non-partisan in municipal elections, the only ones in which they have as yet voted, and non-partisanship means that there is no political organization which will see that they do not forget to vote. The women get themselves to the polls or they stay at home. Moreover, a very considerable percentage of the men vote because they have "jobs" or hope to get "jobs," whereas happily the women are not yet rewarded in this fashion for their political activities. They are not going to lose such profitable positions as cleaning the streets or running the elevators in the city hall if they fail to vote.

Another point that should not be overlooked is the fact that, in an aldermanic election, unlike a mayoralty election where the whole vote of the city is counted, there are many wards where the decision is sure to go to the candidate nominated by one party, and voting seems

¹ Vol. iv, 437-447 (July, 1915).

to those of the opposite party quite a useless activity. It is probably true that the women have not yet become accustomed, as are the men, to voting even when their votes are quite certainly not going to affect the result of the election. In such wards it is much more important to vote in the primaries and to secure the nomination of a good candidate than to cast what seems to be an unnecessary vote for him on election day. Many women at any rate seem to have acted on this supposition, for a relatively larger proportion of women voted on the day of the primary than on election day. Thus 41.2 per cent of the registered women and 45.7 per cent of the registered men voted in the primaries in contrast to the 54 per cent of the women and 68 per cent of the men who voted in the election. That is, on the day when in most wards the real decision was to be made, the proportion of women voting was almost as large as the proportion of men, in spite of the fact that many of the inexperienced women voters do not yet understand our complicated primary law; but on election day when the party machines were still busy "getting out the party vote" that is, the men's vote, the women did not make the same effort to vote when they knew that their votes were not necessary to secure the election of the candidates in whom they were interested.

As to the effect of the women's vote, the newspapers tell us that the women "did not change the result in a single instance." But the newspapers forget the primaries. The most bitter of the primary contests was the one waged in the seventh ward. This is the ward which sends to the city council as one of its two aldermen, Professor Charles E. Merriam, the recognized leader of the good-government, and the anti-Thompson, forces. Mayor Thompson had widely advertised his intention of preventing the renomination of the so-called "rebel" aldermen, that is, the Republican aldermen who had followed Mr. Merriam's lead in the council instead of supporting their Republican mayor. It would, of course, have been a great victory for the spoilsmen if they could have defeated in Mr. Merriam's own ward his friend and follower Alderman Kimball, who was standing for renomination. Moreover, this catastrophe would have happened if the women had not been voters. The primary vote in the seventh ward was as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
J. N. Kimball (Professor Merriam's candidate)	3,194	2,278	5,472
F. W. Kregel (Mayor Thompson's candidate)	3,313	2,001	5,314
Women's plurality for Merriam candidate			277
Men's plurality for Thompson candidate			119

The women voters clearly saved the seventh ward in one of the bitterest primary contests in the city. By election day, however, the men, aided and supported by their wives and daughters, had rallied to the good

government side; and both men and women voters in the ward gave Mr. Kimball a substantial plurality and by indirection gave Professor Merriam a warm vote of endorsement in the fight he is leading against the Thompson machine, which boasted loudly that not the least of the election gains would be "the end of Merriam as floor leader of the opposition." The newspaper head-liners casting their eyes over the election returns announced, of course, that in the seventh ward the women had "voted just like the men," and editorial writers will talk of the women contributing only a "copy-cat vote." But they forget that the women placed the good government candidate on the ballot, and they overlook the fact that on election day he received 77 per cent of the women's votes and only 64 per cent of the men's votes. In the seventh ward primary contest the women repeated their successful efforts in the primary contests of last year in the sixth and thirty third wards. The analysis of the 1915 vote which was published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW showed that had it not been for the women voters, A. A. McCormick, of the sixth ward, and Robert M. Buck, of the thirty third ward, the two aldermen whose services for good government rank next to those of Mr. Merriam in the council, would never have been nominated; but in these wards, too, the men had, by election day, been educated up to the point of following the lead of the women. If a division of labor in the matter of voting were worth considering, the city should be satisfied if the business of the primaries were left to the women. With good candidates nominated, the women might be willing to leave the business of the election to the men.

To analyze the vote in each of the 35 wards of Chicago would be neither interesting nor profitable. But the value of the women's vote from the "good-government" point of view may be determined by a very satisfactory objective test: Did or did not a larger percentage of the women than of the men vote for the candidates recommended by the municipal voters' league? This league, organized in 1896 to redeem the city council from the control of the gray wolves, is known to the readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW as a very active good government organization. It should be explained, however, that the candidates endorsed by the league are of varying degrees of ability and integrity. It recommends the best of the several candidates in each ward unless all the candidates have notoriously bad records. In some wards, however, voting for the candidate endorsed by the league is merely negative since it does not mean the election of a good candidate but only the defeat of a very bad one. In other words, the league candidate may be very little better, if any, than some of his opponents. On the whole, however, the league endorsements furnish the only generally accepted test as to which candidates represent the good government forces. In two wards (the first ward, in which "Bathhouse John" and "Hinky-Dink" still reign,

and the eighth ward, in South Chicago) the league made no recommendation and we have therefore only 33 wards in which a non-partisan organization has determined for us which was the "best" candidate. In these wards the results were as follows:

1. In five wards in which the league endorsed a Socialist candidate the percentage of men voting for this candidate was slightly higher than the percentage of women. These were the fifteenth, sixteenth, nineteenth, twenty second, and thirty fourth wards. This is of interest because in the election of 1915 also, when there were two Socialist candidates endorsed by the league, these candidates received a slightly larger percentage of the men's than of the women's vote. The smaller percentage of women voting for Socialist candidates is probably due to the fact that the Socialist vote is predominantly a foreign vote and that the foreign vote is predominantly a men's vote. But it may indicate that the women have a conservative disinclination to vote for a Socialist candidate even when he is "recommended" as the best candidate available.

2. In seven wards there was no difference between the percentage of men and the percentage of women voting for the good government candidates. These were the third, ninth, eleventh, seventeenth, eighteenth, twenty ninth and thirty second wards.

3. In four of the remaining 21 wards, and in four wards only, a larger percentage of the men than of the women voted for the league candidates. These wards include the thirtieth (the stockyards) and three "west side" wards, the thirteenth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth.

4. Finally, in 17 of these 21 wards, and herein lies the woman voter's claim to be counted with the good government forces, a larger percentage of the women than of the men cast their votes for the candidates recommended by the league. These wards were the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, tenth, twelfth, twenty first, twenty third, twenty fourth, twenty fifth, twenty sixth, twenty seventh, twenty eighth, thirty first, thirty third, and the thirty fifth. And it is important to note that this support by the women of the candidates who gave promise of help in the effort to redeem the administration of the city was not confined to any one section of Chicago. Among the wards enumerated, for example, are the two University wards on the south side (the sixth and seventh), the "Lake Shore" wards on the north side (the twenty first and the twenty third) and at least six wards in different parts of the west side.

This result is the more interesting in that there was no city-wide organization of women voters for this purpose. It was in the nature of a spontaneous uprising of the women, as it were, against the men who are corrupting our civic life. Moreover, the result is interesting because it repeats the experience of last year, and it seems to indicate a settled

determination on the part of the women to use such influence as they possess for the destruction of the spoils system.

In the slow process of trying to rescue a great city like Chicago from the hands of the spoilsmen, the women voters have certain distinct advantages over the men. They have the enthusiasms of their early political youth. They have not yet known the sweets of victory or the bitterness of defeat. There is no disillusioned class among them claiming that the struggle for good government is a hopeless one. More than that—the women have the patience that is born of long years of deprivation. For two generations they worked against heavy odds for a cause that men called hopeless. Disappointment was their allotted and accepted portion. At any time short of the present the suffragists could have said, as Lord Shaftesbury said of the early philanthropists, that “disappointment is the badge of all our tribe.” They learned to look upon a disappointment not as a defeat, but as the signal for the beginning of a new offensive. The fight against the spoilsmen is for the present a kind of trench warfare. Gains are counted by yards not by miles. If the women voters are able to force the nomination of better men at each election and continue to vote year after year in proportionately larger numbers than the men for the good government candidates recommended by the municipal voters’ league, they are strengthening the good government forces; but they cannot destroy the spoils-system single handed. The men voters will be for a generation to come much more numerous than the women, and the task of educating the men must be shouldered. One recalls those familiar verses:

Of old the Lord with gracious word
To some bequeathed His peace
But us He honored with His sword
Whose power shall ne’er decrease.

THE PHILADELPHIA BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH¹

BY GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.

Philadelphia

IT IS characteristic of Americans that they have always considered that any citizen was equal to any administrative position under government if his heart was in the right place, and if he was sound in the principles that underlie our political creeds.

¹The substance of an address delivered by George Burnham, Jr., treasurer of the National Municipal League and a member of the board of trustees of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, at public dinner given in Philadelphia, April 6, 1915.—EDITOR.

Hence we have taken the doctor, the lawyer, the merchant, or the blacksmith by the scruff of the neck and dumped him into the chair of the legislator, the governor of our state, the mayor of our city, and expected him to make good, whether he knew anything about the job or not. It is not my purpose to criticise this way of doing things in the state and nation, but to point out some results in our cities. The plan worked fairly well so long as our city governments were simple affairs, having to do with what were in reality merely outgrown villages. With the rapid growth of our cities, and the increasing complexity of city government due to such activities as electric and steam transportation, water distribution, electric and gas lighting, etc., the plan did not work so well and the government of our cities began to fall into disrepute. Do not suppose that I think the placing of untrained officials in positions of power and responsibility the only cause of our discredited city governments, but it is certainly a strong contributing factor. In any event, we began to be dissatisfied with our municipal governments, and then began the campaign to "turn the rascals out" and put in honest men.

Observe that we still had the old American obsession, and demanded not qualified men so much as honest men. If a man was only honest, he would find a way to perform his job satisfactorily.

It was soon found, however, that even honest and well intentioned men did not necessarily make good administrators of our cities. It was then that a small group of men conceived the idea that if a thorough study were made of municipal government, not as a political theory, but as a concrete fact, and the results of such a study were brought before the administrators in being, they would be glad to avail themselves of the chance to improve their methods. This may seem unlikely—pride of office, dislike of outside interference, you may think would prevent it. But put yourself in the place of an elected official for a moment. You suddenly find yourself confronted with a concern for which you are responsible. It has a long tradition of management which may strike you as full of absurdities, but it's there! and standing before you patiently expectant are three or four clerks awaiting your action on some current matter. The immediate burden, in other words, is so heavy that you haven't time or strength to install better methods, and you probably leave the system, after your brief period of authority, as you found it.

Now, suppose some expert in whom you have confidence steps in and says, "We have made a careful study of this office, and find the procedure is thus and so, is this correct?" You look over the papers and find that an accurate picture of the going methods in your department has been drawn. Now, says the expert, we believe you can get far better results by doing thus and so, and here are our reasons for thinking so; further, if you find we are right we want you to get the credit for making the changes we propose, as we are not seeking any glory in the matter our-

selves. Would you not be inclined to swallow your pride and accept the assistance, if the suggested changes met with your approval?

Now this has been, in a broad way, the history of the research movement in our cities, and Philadelphia has been no exception. It has seemed to me that you, as contributors and friends of the bureau, are entitled to some more detailed account of the doings of your association than you have heretofore had. I shall be as brief as possible in my résumé, but I do want you to know what we have been doing.

Organized in 1908, in the first year of the Reyburn administration, we realized at the start that we would be more or less "suspect" by the authorities, and that we must look for the place of least resistance to begin our work. We found it in the board of education, of which Doctor Brunbaugh was then the head. The first inquiry was as to the conduct of the bureau of compulsory education, which has to do with truancy and non-attendance of children of school age. It was soon found that the officer at the head of the bureau was hopelessly incompetent, and our report to the board recommended a reorganization of the bureau. The report was pigeon-holed for some weeks. We then asked the board whether they cared to publish the report, or whether we should do it. The effect of this was the resignation of the incompetent official, and the reorganization of the bureau.

A thorough study of negro education in Philadelphia was made, and the present policy of the board was based on the findings of the bureau. This study was published by the United States government.

A code of laws governing schools was prepared; the medical inspection of school children was studied, and other studies were made, all resulting in constructive recommendations.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of your bureau has been in the department of municipal finance. Let me say here that the city controller (Cap't John M. Walton), promptly gave us full access to his department, and has been of the greatest assistance to us in every way. At the suggestion of Dr. Cleveland of the New York bureau, at that time acting as our adviser, Controller Walton has entirely revised the accounting system of the city. We have now, in the opinion of many experts, the best municipal accounting system in the country. Great progress has been made towards a scientific budget, and I have no doubt that such a system will be installed by the city soon, but it must be remembered that to inaugurate such a system in our city, councils, as well as the administration, must be convinced of its necessity.

Early in our history we found the department of health and charities, then under Dr. Joseph S. Neff, very hospitable to the bureau. Doctor Neff said he was much hampered by the lack of a complete digest of the laws relating to the public health. Such laws had been enacted by the state legislature from time to time, and as they often seriously affected

personal liberties and property rights, it was most important that the health officer of the city should know just what they were. A complete digest of such laws was prepared, and has proved most useful to the Department.

A study, in co-operation with other agencies, of infant mortality in the city, resulted in the organization of the division of child hygiene. You will all remember the comprehensive study of the milk supply, and the milk show, during Doctor Neff's incumbency. Your bureau co-operated in this work.

A survey was made of the contagious disease hospital, and a system of accounts and records was installed in this department. A survey of food inspection was made in 1915, and a report prepared, which will be published by the Phipps Institute. Our recommendations have not yet been adopted, but we are expecting that the publication of this report will help us in this respect.

In the department of public safety, a manual for patrolmen was prepared, and is now in use in the department. This was the first manual printed for the use of policemen in seventeen years, and you can well imagine how defective and out-of-date the old manual had become. Schools for policemen and firemen were inaugurated, which have proved most useful. In the matter of fire prevention, an organization chart was prepared, and descriptive and constructive reports made public. The material was published in a book issued by Powell Evans, of your board of trustees.

In the bureau of water, an accounting system has been installed. A study of the bureau of city property resulted in changes in procedure and organization. City hall used to be cleaned in a haphazard manner, each office making its own arrangements. A report on this subject was made by the bureau, which has resulted in a saving of \$30,000 annually to the city, although its recommendations were only partially accepted. We believe a full acceptance would save at least \$50,000 annually.

During Mayor Reyburn's administration the bureau made a study of the weights and measures used throughout the city. All sorts of fraudulent tools of this character were discovered, and a report on the subject received wide publicity, resulting in the organization of the present bureau of weights and measures, which has continued the good work.

At the request of the municipal court, the bureau has just completed a system of tabulation for the domestic relations division, by means of which the court is enabled to compile statistics of its operations. This work is of great importance to many of the welfare and charitable agencies of the city.

Finally, the bureau has, as a sort of by-product, become a training school for workers in public positions. Eight of our people have thus far been drafted for this service. By a curious coincidence, four of these

have been appointed by "reform" department heads, and the other four by "organization" officials. Of these eight, one has left the city's service for private business, one has gone into another branch of public work, one was recalled by the bureau to resume work there, and five still remain in the employ of the city.

In closing, I cannot forbear saying a word or two as to the faithfulness and untiring zeal of the bureau staff and employes. Working, most of them, for less compensation than private business would offer, they have not hesitated to disregard hours in emergencies, and have toiled as the artist toils, because he is in love with his job.

You may perhaps want to know how that bureau has been received by the present administration. It is a little early to pronounce upon this question, but in an interview with Mayor Smith on the part of your trustees and your director, the mayor expressed his willingness to utilize our services whenever possible, and expressed particular interest in a study of salary standardization that the bureau has been making.

This morning he sent for Mr. Gruenberg and told him to convey a message to us of his willingness to co-operate with the bureau at all times, of his sympathy with the bureau ideals and program, and his great regret at being unable to be with us to-night.

MUNICIPAL CONDITIONS IN WEST VIRGINIA CITIES

BY CLARENCE M. WERUM
Huntington, W. Va.

THE constitution of the state of West Virginia is of the old form and type, and needs to be revised, especially that part which concerns the municipal government of the state. Running parallel with this old form are its frontier political methods; but fortunately for the municipalities of the state, the bad laws and practices are being felt. Their enforcement will result in the enactment of good laws. The history of municipal government in West Virginia is not different from other states except that its present status is still in the crude form.

For a long time the unbridled power of the legislature has exerted its influence and authority over the municipal governments within its jurisdiction, wielding this power regardless of the manner or sentiment of the people of the community affected, and out of this unscrupulous use of power the politicians are destroying the very fruits that they have forcibly created.

The constitution of the state provides that "the legislature shall not pass local or special laws . . . for incorporating cities, towns or villages or amending the charter of any city, town or village containing

a population of less than two thousand. The legislature shall provide, by general laws, for the foregoing, and all other cases for which provision can be so made; and in no case shall a special act be passed, where a general law would be proper, and can be made applicable to the case; nor in any other case in which the courts have jurisdiction, and are competent to give the relief asked for."

The supreme court of appeals has shown an inclination to favor the legislature in its authority over municipalities, when in the case of *Woodell v. Darst*¹ it says: "The court will not hold the special act as contravening this section, unless it clearly appears that the general laws would have accomplished the legislative purpose as well."

This constitutional provision is not a safeguard to municipal government. Municipalities whose population exceeds two thousand have absolutely no protection while those which have less than two thousand inhabitants have only a limited protection as shown in the constitutional provision above recited. The word "amend" means to change or modify that which exists; but it does not prevent the legislature from completely destroying municipal government and re-creating the same.²

So difficult has it been to amend the constitution of this state that neither of the political parties will indorse an amendment for fear of the defeat of their measure, and so the pious voters of the municipalities have closed their eyes to take their medicine. Within the last few years, however, the medicine has become quite bitter.

A certain legislator, who represents the district in which the city of Williamson exists, decided that Williamson had too many Democratic voters so he appeared at the regular session of the legislature in 1915, which was a Republican legislature, and with his influence and the customary trading of voting patronage was able to have a law passed amending the act incorporating the city of Williamson. This act vested the corporate power of the city in a board of five commissioners, three of whom must belong to one of the political parties and two to the other, and provided that said commissioners shall be appointed by the governor of the state for a term of two years. Thereafter the commissioners are to be elected by the people. This board of commissioners takes the place of the previous governmental board whose officers, Democratic in party affiliation, had just been elected to run the government of the city. The governor permitted the act to become a law without his signature and partially escaped the criticism heaped upon the legislators. The commissioners were appointed, and the act carried to the court. The power to create, unrestrained, naturally carries with it the power to amend or change, or even to destroy, so when the courts reviewed this case, they had no choice but to recognize the power of the legislature.

¹ 77 S. E. 264.

² *South Morgantown v. Morgantown*, 40 S. E. 15.

There was some hope pending this litigation, however, that the supreme court of appeals would find some grounds to rule otherwise.

This same legislature had its attention called to another municipality in this state, namely Fairmont, a political hot-bed like other West Virginia cities, where not the slightest ethics is recognized in political contests. The scrambling parties disliking the practice of one party feasting with the other party famishing, with neither party knowing until after election which would draw the famine, decided in some of the localities to create a charter form of government with a bi-partisan board, that would permit both parties equal representation upon the governing board. Thus it would be feast for all forever. But alas! when the city of Fairmont had its election there was elected on the bi-partisan board two Democrats and two Progressives and the poor Republican politicians remained out in the cold. The politicians in other cities fared better. Immediately they became busy, suggested a non-partisan board and when they were defeated in an attempt to exercise the "recall," they marched with their drooping heads to the brilliant legislature that made history for West Virginia, in 1915, and pleaded for a new charter for Fairmont. The legislature, after weighing seriously the arguments of both sides in so much as matters pertaining to municipal government were of such great importance, decided in their wisdom to give Fairmont another new charter. This charter, too, has found its way into the courts and if this act is declared invalid it will be on the grounds that you cannot eliminate the voters by mental test and that the legislature did not follow the proper rules in the passage of the act. But for these apparent defenses the act would undoubtedly be sustained.

The advocates of municipal home rule are striving hard to create sentiment that will eventually result in an amendment to the constitution, to provide that any act passed by the legislature changing the form of government of any municipality shall not take effect until ratified by the majority vote of that municipality.

DENVER'S NEW CHARTER

BY ELLIS MEREDITH

*Denver, Colorado*¹

BY AN overwhelmingly decisive vote Denver discarded the commission form of government May 9 and adopted a charter amendment which gives practically all executive power to the mayor and creates a city council of nine members.

¹ Ex-President, Denver election commission. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 663.

Before considering the new régime a word is in order by way of comfort to those who still pin their faith upon commission government. Even those who do not believe in it admit frankly that it did not have a fair trial in this city. It is based upon the theory that men of quite unusual capacity will be attracted by the opportunity for service, each commissioner being supreme in his own field, and able to make a record that stands clearly by itself. But in Denver the same vote that declared for the commission form declared also for the preferential ballot, and much to the disappointment of those who had seen in this so-called "fool-proof ballot" the realization of an "iridescent dream" it proved more like a nightmare. Party lines were wiped out to such an extent that no candidate could receive the support of any aggregation of people, and as few men are adepts in sounding their own praises this kind of personal campaigning was very obnoxious to those who might have given the city the best service. As a result those ideal candidates who, like good children are occasionally seen, but never heard, preferred to continue on the even tenor of their way, while men of lesser talent made the race.

As the five commissioners formed the council, and no one could make more than a guess as to who would be elected, and much of the success of the government must depend upon a council that could and would work together harmoniously, this was an added drawback, and the commission government failed as much on account of the uncertainty which is rendered certain by the preferential ballot, as because of any shortcomings of its own, or on the part of the commissioners who have been good officers, on the whole, even if none of them has given a brilliant administration of his own department or inaugurated any striking civic improvement in the council. It is a pity the commission form might not have had a fairer trial, for it was not without its advantages, and some 22,000 people voted to retain it.

The agitation for a change has been going on for some time. Two years ago this fall an attempt was made to recall the commissioner of safety. It was well known that it was fostered by an anti-Catholic organization, and members of that church, regardless of party, rallied to his support and re-elected him. The same element prepared an amendment calling for the election of city officials and filed it early this spring. When it became evident that there was to be an election Robert W. Speer, for eight years mayor of Denver, submitted an amendment to the charter, and shortly afterward the Republican organization of the city and county presented yet another amendment creating a city council of nine named in the charter, nominated W. W. Booth for mayor, named two of the commissioners for the offices of sheriff and treasurer and nominated a clerk and recorder.

The campaign soon demonstrated that the first, or Macy amendment was hopelessly out of the running. Very soon it became equally clear

that the Booth amendment had no chance of adoption, and there were many evidences of the old alliance between the Republican organization and that of the Democrats, which was working enthusiastically for Mr. Speer. The only alternative left was to vote against all the amendments and various organizations: the independent voters league, the anti-civic center association, the anti-saloon league—the W. C. T. U., and many of the clergy urged the public to do this. A total of 54,496 votes were cast, registered as follows:

Macy amendment—For, 6,508; against, 45,408.

Booth amendment—For, 5,659; against, 44,344.

Speer amendment—For, 30,891; against, 22,164.

No attempt was made to go into the courts. In spite of much bitterness during the campaign the city accepted the results philosophically, and even those most strenuously opposed to Mr. Speer, have decided that the best course for the present is one of "watchful waiting."

The new charter provides for a benevolent despotism. It does not repeal the initiative and referendum nor the recall. It doesn't even repeal the preferential ballot. It concentrates all the administrative powers in the hands of the mayor and all the legislative powers in the hands of the council, with an auditor independent of both. The present auditor serves until the end of his term, and next May his successor will be elected for a term of four years, also a council of nine members to be nominated and elected by districts for a term of two years. Four of the present council have been appointed by Mayor Speer and the other five by the Denver civic and commercial association, the trades assembly, the real estate exchange, the rotary club and the manufacturer's association, and while they have just organized and have had no time to formulate plans, the general public is well satisfied with the personnel of the council.

Four departments are created, the heads of which form the mayor's cabinet; they have charge respectively of the improvements and parks, revenue, health and charity and safety and excise.

The mayor is given the power to appoint the heads of all administrative departments and the members of all commissions, boards and officers, and all persons in the employ of the city or county or any of the departments thereof whose salaries or compensations are not fixed in the charter amendments are declared to be employes and shall be appointed by the mayor or department head, and the mayor is given power to fill all vacancies. In other words, he is given complete power of appointment.

The one particular section which is nearest the heart of Mayor Speer is said to be entirely new in city governments in this country. It is short and somewhat vague, and sufficiently elastic to cover a very wide scope of endeavor, as anything has need to be when it is frankly experimental in character. Nothing is a greater mistake than hard and fast

rules and limitations when embarking on an undertaking where precedents are few and success depends largely upon freedom to carry out a design that grows in the making. This section provides:

"There shall be, and hereby is, created an industrial bureau for the purpose of encouraging local industries and employment of labor. It shall be limited in its expenditures to the amount of money appropriated for its use by the city and county. It shall consist of the mayor and four members appointed by him, who shall serve without pay. This bureau shall be vested with full power of the city and county to encourage industries, stimulate trade and secure the employment of labor."

The idea of Mayor Speer, as he outlined it in his campaign, is that there are many small concerns engaged in manufacturing all sorts of things, and hampered in all sorts of ways. Sometimes there are obvious difficulties, and sometimes there are leaks that take away the profit. In one place he found the proprietor discharging a man, who almost begged to be retained. On investigation he found that the man was manufacturing an article used extensively in Denver, but imported. A little missionary work brought supply and demand together, and the employe kept his job. For months past the new mayor has been making a quiet investigation among the little shops and plants of the city, and now he has a well defined determination, rather than an exact plan, to help "to separate the men who want work from the men who won't work," and take care of both of them in the way that will be most beneficial to the community.

During his former administrations public improvements were pushed vigorously—beyond what many felt the city was able to bear. In the four years since he went out of office there has not been a great deal done in that direction. This is, perhaps, one of the innate weaknesses of commission government. Each commissioner wants all the funds he can get for his own department, and they are not willing to yield for the greater good of the community. So far as one can judge from his utterances Mayor Speer does not intend to launch out into any very extensive improvements which would call for increased taxation; already he has begun his promised era of economy by lopping off surplus clerks, consolidating departments, abolishing sinecures, and leaving the outside workers alone in the main. The day laborer, who makes parks and boulevards beautiful, is not trembling for his "job," even though the civil service, which is a poor thing under the Denver charter, does not protect him.

There is one most unusual condition following upon this election. No man has ever had more active opponents than Robert Speer, and his election was bitterly fought by men and women who are not "quitters," yet the prevailing opinion seems to be patient, rather than censorious. It is recognized that under this charter the mayor is supreme, and while there are not wanting those who are not looking for any good thing,

let alone a millenium to come as a result of this election, still the general opinion is that the new administration should have a chance to demonstrate what the one man power can do, when it has a free field.

No man ever had a harder task than that which confronts Mayor Speer. It is not only a city to govern by new methods; he is a strong man, eager to try out some theories which he has long considered, and he has had the benefit of study and travel since leaving office. For a man of his character neither work nor responsibility has any terrors, but when it comes to breaking definitely with the host of the faithful hangers-on of the past, and turning a deaf ear to the friends who deserve much in the way of personal consideration from him, but nothing whatever from this city, this is much more difficult. Yet this is what he must do if he is to justify the faith of his friends and set at naught the criticism of his enemies. Economy cannot afford to give gratitude much house-room, yet to appear unmindful of past benefits is a thankless part. It is safe to say that no problem of city administration will give Mr. Speer more anxious moments than squaring his performance with the hopes of a multitude of people who expect to receive a public reward in return for votes loyally given.

In the meantime, the city is not troubling itself with any such abstract considerations. Under the prohibition law which went into effect last January it has been growing, building, beautifying, realizing a new ideal, and now that it has started out upon what it conceives to be a new era in its history, it has "thrown to the winds its fears" and gives every promise of a year of unexampled prosperity, in spite of the lugubrious predictions that always attend presidential elections.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revisions.—On June 6, Los Angeles defeated a new charter by a vote of 30,839 to 23,562, the third attempt within four years to put the city on a modern political basis. Among the improvements which were available through the new charter are: rather greater executive authority on the part of the mayor (especially in budget matters); a more definite financial control through the erection of the office of comptroller, single directors instead of commissions for most of the administrative departments.

Budget making will be controlled by a committee of estimate consisting of the mayor, the comptroller and the president of the council and it will have at its disposal the services of a bureau of efficiency whose duty it is to "investigate the organization, administration, and procedure of the various departments, divisions and offices of the city government; to recommend to the mayor, the council and the heads of departments measures for the promotion of economy and efficiency in the city's affairs; and to furnish the mayor, the council, the committee of estimate or the advisory board such information as they may request."

The "advisory board" is to consist of the principal city officers (including heads of departments) and is to act as a sort of cabinet of administration for the purpose of recommending measures and policies to the city council and co-ordinating the city's activities.

An astonishing aspect about Los Angeles charter making is that in a community so ready in most respects to accept modern methods and to break with moss-grown traditions, the net result of its city charter construction is so out of harmony with recognized principles of improved city government. Possibly the

new instrument is a considerable improvement over its predecessor, but as compared with those of Dayton, Buffalo, Jersey City, Cleveland, or even Denver, the Los Angeles document is a product of the dark ages of charter making.

Why, for instance, must Los Angeles have an elective city attorney, elective comptroller, elective prosecutor, elective board of education and an elective municipal court? Why should all these officers be independent of the executive and the governing body? Why does Los Angeles cling to the thoroughly discredited principle of confirmation of appointments by the council?

Modern charter making recognizes the necessity of giving the council some hand in organizing the administrative departments. The Los Angeles charter violates the principle by describing in detail the organization of each of the several departments and their subdivisions and rigidly describes the powers and duties of all officers. It is conceived on the principle that everybody's hands should be tied lest somebody may possibly go wrong.

H. S. GILBERTSON.

*

A City Manager Charter for East Cleveland, Ohio, was approved by a vote of four to one, on June 6. The charter was modeled after the Dayton and Springfield charters and the model charter of the National Municipal League. The charter provides for the election of a commission of five members elected for terms of four years (two for two years at the first election), and a municipal judge. The commission appoints the city manager and director of finance. All other officers and employees are appointed by the city manager, who is given full control and supervision of

administration. The members of the commission are individually prohibited from interfering in any manner with the administration of affairs and the appointment and removal of officers and employes. The civil service commission is appointed by the city manager, with the approval of the city commission; but the rules and regulations are to be framed and adopted by the city commission. The initiative, referendum and recall are provided. Primaries are eliminated. Candidates are to be nominated by petition and elected on a non-partisan ballot.

The unique feature of the charter is the provision granting suffrage to women. This provision was submitted as a separate section and adopted by a large majority. The constitution of the state limits the privilege of voting to "male whites," but the attorneys on the commission agreed with the attorney of the woman's suffrage party in the opinion that the home rule amendment granting authority to exercise all powers of local self government, carried with it the right, by charter provisions, to give to women the right of suffrage. The voters approved the section, and it became a part of the charter. A friendly suit will be carried up to the highest courts of the state, testing the validity of this provision.

The first election of commissioners is to be held in November, 1916, but the remainder of the charter does not take effect until January 1, 1918. In the meantime, the voters of East Cleveland will vote upon the question of annexation to the city of Cleveland. East Cleveland has a population of approximately 15,000, and is a distinctly residential suburb of the larger city.

MAYO FESLER.

✱

Aberdeen, South Dakota, Retains Commission Plan.—By a majority of 104 in a total vote of 15,134, the voters of Aberdeen, South Dakota, have decided to retain the commission plan of city government. It is estimated that about three fifths of the normal vote was cast.

Proportional Representation.—Last winter the charters of Edmonton and Calgary, Alberta, were amended by the provincial parliament to give the cities the power to adopt proportional representation for their councils. In Ottawa, the board of trade adopted resolutions favoring proportional representation for the city, and on January 3 the voters, to whom the matter was referred by the municipal council, expressed their approval of the system for that branch of the council known as the board of control. The committee of the Ontario parliament to which the Ottawa bill was referred disapproved of several features of it, including the proportional representation, on the ground that they were matters that should be considered only in connection with a general bill applying to all the cities of Ontario.

The Springfield charter bill (Senate Bill No. 257), submitted to the Massachusetts legislature last winter, was the result of some two years' work on the part of the citizens' charter commission of 100, a body representing the leading organizations of the city. Provisions for electing both council and school committee by the Hare system of proportional representation, substantially like those printed by the National Municipal League in connection with its model charter, were included in both the alternative charters provided for in the bill. The legislative committee on cities did not approve the bill, however.

C. G. HOAG.

✱

Telephone Companies Report.—The Interstate commerce commission, under date of April 10, 1916, has ordered that each and every telephone company subject to the provisions of the act to regulate commerce, having annual operating revenues above \$50,000 shall, from January 1, 1916, make and file with the commission monthly reports of revenues, expenses and capital charges, on forms prescribed and furnished by the commission for the purpose.

✱

Temporary Authorizations in Chicago Civil Service.—Superintendent Fred G.

Heuchling of the West Chicago park civil service board has made the best record on the question of temporary appointments yet noted in this country.

In their report for the year 1915 the commissioners referring to the report of their superintendent of employment say:

The number of temporary appointments made, and their period of duration are generally conceded to be an index of the thoroughness with which a civil service law is administered.

This statement coming from a civil service board merits serious consideration and this board is to be commended for the showing made. It has demonstrated conclusively the ability of a civil service commission which will earnestly put itself to the task to reduce the temporary authority grants to a negligible number. Mr. Heuchling's latest report was made January 11, and shows that a total of 57 grants of authority were issued during the year 1915. Fifty of these authorized the employment of but one person, six authorized the employment of two persons and one authorized the employment of seventeen persons. Taken as a whole, there were 79 persons employed on temporary authorization during the year, not including two who were employed on authority granted during 1914. Whenever a need arose for temporary employment in a position for which an eligible list or a reinstatement list was in force, notice of such need was immediately sent to the persons whose names appeared on the list. When an eligible was willing to accept the temporary appointment, he was given the position. As a result of these efforts 24 of the persons employed on temporary authorization, out of the total of 79, were taken from the eligible list for the positions filled. The total amount of wages paid to persons employed on temporary authorization amounted to \$5,021.86. This is seventy-one one-hundredths of one per cent of the total amount of the payrolls for the year. There is a maximum number of positions of 1,036 in the West park service. The 79 persons under temporary appoint-

ments were employed for an average period of 26 days each.

A similar showing on the part of civil service commissions over the country would result in bringing thousands of positions under merit rule which are now, by the temporary authorization abuse, practically filled by political selections.

R. E. BLACKWOOD.¹

✱

Disfiguring Washington, the Capital City.—On the banks of the Potomac river, at the head of the water-front of the city of Washington, excavations and pile driving are proceeding for the foundations of the new central heating, lighting and power plant to be erected by the government for the purpose of supplying heat, light and power from a central source to those departmental and other buildings now operating isolated plants for these purposes. Congress authorized the erection of this plant, which, from an economic standpoint, is in line with modern engineering practice. When it selected the site, however, it took no account of the æsthetic side of the question. Apparently no thought was given to the effect which such a building, with its high smokestacks, might have upon the already highly developed park system, bordering the Potomac, with the Washington monument towering in the center and the new Lincoln memorial approaching completion.

One can understand why any casual visitor to the present Washington water-front, with its general back-yard appearance, might very easily be led to believe that any kind of a modern building would be an improvement. One can understand why congress seemed to be quite unaware of the plans which have been made for developing this water-front, and that the erection of a power house would be destructive of the ends which that development was designed to attain. But being willing to forgive this lack of understanding, what shall we say on behalf of those who are still willing to ignore the present

¹ Secretary, Civil Service Reform Association of Chicago.

development and who steadfastly resist every effort to secure an investigation of the whole project? Chief sponsor of this group is Secretary McAdoo of the treasury. In the office of the supervising architect, a branch of his department, the plans for the power house were drawn. The contract was let. Work was about to begin, when the commission of fine arts, appointed by two successive presidents for the purpose of preventing, in so far as possible, any desecration of Washington, asked for the plans. Under the executive order issued by President Wilson, Secretary McAdoo was required to present the plans for the examination of the commission before signing a contract. His office neglected to do this and explained the neglect as a clerical error. But having made the mistake, the secretary seems determined that it shall stand. The commission reported adversely to the project. Public spirited men from all over the United States urged congress to reconsider its action. No project ever received through the press a more instant and hearty condemnation. The resolution introduced by Senator Newlands providing for its reconsideration, was passed by the senate and referred to a conference committee of the senate and the house. At this conference the senate's conferees receded. As a consequence, the committee reported against the resolution, but all who are familiar with the present manner of conference legislation as practiced in Congress today will understand that such a report must be passed *in toto* by either chamber. No one item can be stricken out, and the conferees generally manage to include enough of the right kind of items to get a sustaining vote for their report. Thus the resolution of Senator Newlands was lost—not on its merits—for there seems every reason to believe that the senate would have sustained it had it been possible to consider it on its merits alone.

The position of the secretary of the treasury was sustained in a letter which he wrote to Senator Martin of Virginia, and in fact all the resources of the admin-

istration were apparently invoked by Secretary McAdoo in order that there should be no reconsideration of the project to which he had committed the nation in defiance of an order of the very president who appointed him. These things are very discouraging to all those who believe so sincerely in the great and wonderful possibilities for so developing the capital of the United States that it shall not only be one of the world's most beautiful government seats, but that it shall also symbolize those national ideals of Washington and Jefferson—the two men who were so largely responsible for the plan devised by Major L'Enfant and now famous throughout the world.

Other serious blemishes are preparing. The erection of the new building for the department of the interior was a grave mistake. It does not in any way conform to the plan. Congress has just authorized the departments of justice and of labor to enter into leases for two office buildings which are to be built by private capital. The nation is already spending \$604,000.00 a year in rents. Many of its departments are miserably housed; the rents are exorbitant. The policy of encouraging the erection of office buildings by private capital is not only a wasteful one, since it costs the government not less than 25 per cent a year on capital invested, but is also filling Washington with a lot of poorly designed buildings, incongruous in character, offensively located, and fitted for adaptation into apartment houses or hotels when vacated by the government. Each addition of this kind makes it all the harder to secure the erection of government owned buildings of suitable dignity and character, since real estate interests in Washington have a vital interest in continuing the rented system. The abandonment by the government of the rented quarters now occupied would create a serious situation in real estate conditions, in addition to the loss of rentals.

It will require a determined national effort to save the city of Washington from these blunders and this carelessness of its

beauty and dignity. With a glorious and golden opportunity lying wide before it—with every advantage which topography could offer, with a plan of development which has never received other than the universal praise of every expert who has studied it—Washington suffers one blemish after another, principally because of the obstinacy of congress in refusing to recognize the value of expert opinion. But that is a lesson we still have to learn in this country, in Washington as elsewhere. Our tardiness will be costly. In Washington the result may be irreparable.

CHARLES HARRIS WHITAKER.

✱

Universities and City Planning.—Some idea of the growth of interest in city planning may be gathered from the fact that a number of universities are now giving courses on the subject. The following is a list of institutions which now offer instruction along these lines:

University of Illinois—Chair of civic design.

Harvard University—Courses in city planning in school of landscape architecture.

University of Michigan—Lectures in department of landscape architecture.

University of Wisconsin—Lectures in department of engineering.

Columbia University—Lectures.

Cornell University—Occasional lectures in department of landscape architecture.

Throop College of Technology—Course listed but not yet given.

University of Pennsylvania—Housing and city planning, and landscape architecture and design.

The subject also receives attention in a course on municipal engineering at the University of Minnesota and in the Chicago school of civics and philanthropy.

✱

Municipal Markets.—For more than 150 years the town of *Carlisle, Pa.* (population, 11,000), has had a public market. The present market contains, in addition to the market itself, the office of the market master, the burgess's office, police

court, council chamber, board of health, city engineer's office and the police headquarters. It contains 200 inside stalls. There are also 35 outside covered stalls along two sides of the building and portable stalls or tables on the other two sides. A small restaurant is run in connection with the market during market hours. The clerk of the market offers at public sale on September 28 of each year the various stalls in the market house. The price bid is in addition to the regular licensing and annual stall rent. The average receipts per year from 1890 to 1915 were \$3,650. During the same period the average yearly expenditures were \$925.

The New York State Department of Foods and Markets, created by the legislature of 1915, was largely the result of an inquiry into markets and prices and economic methods of distribution between producer and consumer. Of particular mention are the department's achievements in the poultry trade. Widespread appreciation from farmers has also come from the establishment, by the department, of public auctions in orchard districts where the markets threatened to be glutted. At the present time the department is giving its attention to the producing end of the milk business which has been so unsatisfactory in New York City. It has also made careful inquiry into shipping abuses and has pointed out more economic methods of handling products. Because of its extremely valuable work during the past year the chamber of commerce of New York on April 3 passed a resolution endorsing the work already done and recommending ample appropriation for the continuation of it.

State Aid in Marketing in California.

In a recent address before the Outlook association of Los Angeles, Col. Harris Weinstock emphasized the aims and work of the new market commission. Three suggestions were made for the furtherance of agricultural development: rural credits, farm colonization and co-operative marketing. California produces annually \$500,000,000 worth of products. An enormous waste accrues to both producer and consumer. It was pointed out that

a 5 per cent increase of income to the producer and a 5 per cent decrease of cost to the consumer would effect an annual saving of \$25,000,000—a worth-while achievement. As a solution of the commission merchant problem, sale at public auction was advocated. Under such a system the money comes directly to the producer. Particular emphasis was placed upon the possibilities of state action as applied to agricultural colonization, production and marketing.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

✱

Accounting and Research Progress in Minneapolis.—The bureau of municipal research of the Minneapolis civic and commerce association has just completed a survey of the business administration of the board of park commissioners. One of the main recommendations of the report was that a central accounting division should be established to take charge of all accounts kept by the secretary of the board and the superintendent of parks. The board immediately accepted this suggestion and the bureau is assisting in the installation of the new system. Many other changes along the lines suggested in the report have been authorized by the board on the recommendation of the secretary of the board and the superintendent of parks. The bureau has been asked to co-operate with the department in establishing the new systems.

The system of controlling appropriations installed January 1, 1915, by the city comptroller at the suggestion of the bureau of municipal research enabled the city departments operating under the current expense fund to save approximately \$140,000 in 1915. The departments had, in appropriations, \$120,000 less during 1915 than 1914, but they ended the year with a deficit of \$14,000 as compared with the 1914 deficit of \$35,000. The new system kept the officials informed of the unexpended and unencumbered balances of their appropriations.

The men in the comptroller's office have organized a class in municipal finance and, at their request, a member of the staff of the bureau of municipal research is serving

as instructor. The class meets weekly and studies the present financial system of Minneapolis as compared with the latest developments in municipal financing elsewhere.

At present a survey of the police department is under way. The mayor and chief of police, without waiting for the final report to be submitted, have already established a detective bureau with a captain in charge to establish a more effective control over the detective service.

The director of the Minneapolis bureau (F. S. Staley) is directing the survey of the business administration of the Denver public schools. In accordance with the recommendations of a preliminary report the board of education voted to adopt the by-laws establishing a new business organization.

✱

Municipal Waste.—One of the most serious of municipal problems is the disposal of city waste. Following is a list of the various classes of municipal waste: ashes, rubbish, sewage, street sweepings, trade waste, dead animals and garbage. In a pamphlet on the preparation of fertilizer from municipal waste, J. W. Turrentine treats each of the classes of city waste from the point of view of its availability as fertilizer. Thus from sewage we have sewage sludge, a possible source of combined nitrogen for fertilizer purposes. Street sweepings, containing large quantities of mineral matter, are mostly used for filling. The fertilizer materials obtained from dead animals are equal if not superior to those obtained from high-grade slaughterhouse tankage, a nitrogen carrier of such value that it has to a large extent been withdrawn from the fertilizer trade and devoted to cattle feeding. The disposal of garbage presents a serious problem. Various methods of disposal are now used—feeding to swine, incinerating, rendering, etc. The latter method offers possibilities from the standpoint of fertilizer. When it becomes known what portion of nitrogen carried by vegetable matter is available in garbage, a potentially large source of fertilizer will be made available to the agriculturist.

Making Own Insecticide.—St. Augustine, Florida, is now engaged in making its own insecticide, which is used extensively in southern cities for exterminating flies and mosquitoes. Heretofore the city has been paying an average of about \$2 per gallon for this material. The city manager has just succeeded in purchasing the formula for an insecticide and the ingredients for the first barrel of the material for testing the formula at a price less than the standard offer for a barrel. By making their own material they are saving over 500 per cent on each barrel. This means that the insecticide used by the city in any one year in the future will cost about \$75 as against \$450 to \$500, which would have been paid in purchasing the same quantity under the old system.

*

Municipality-Made Street Signs.—A municipal sign writing bureau, for all street and other public signs, has been created by the city of Portland, Oregon, and has been found to be a success. A sign writer,

employed at \$3 per day, is turning out all the signs required and is lettering the windows in municipal buildings, and lettering automobiles and fire and police apparatus, and making all placards, banners, etc., needed by the city. He has a well fitted shop in the basement of the city hall. According to the figures compiled by the state commission, the bureau is making a net saving of 9 cents on each sign.

*

Women Inspectors.—The following cities have women sanitary inspectors: Kalamazoo, Michigan, a sanitary expert; Chicago, a yard superintendent of street cleaning and a garbage inspector; St. Louis, sanitary or health inspectors (fifty club women volunteered to serve as regular city inspectors presumably without pay); Cleveland, the chief of bureau of sanitation and tenement house inspectors is a woman; Philadelphia has a street cleaning inspector and two tenement house inspectors.

II. POLITICS¹

Charter, Franchise and Municipal Affairs in Dallas, Texas.²—On Tuesday, April 4, after an exciting campaign, the citizens of Dallas voted upon nine propositions to amend their city charter, as well as upon a number of ordinances, bond propositions, etc., and for the election of a board of education. This city is operating under the commission form of government and also under the home rule act which authorizes the people to amend their charter biennially.

In this election they adopted charter amendments governing the granting of franchises, changing the method of financing pavements, authorizing pensions for policemen, firemen, and the bereaved dependents of same, increasing the limit of bonds for parks, authorizing commis-

sioners to restrict the building of business houses in residence districts, providing that the city auditor should be nominated by all of the bank presidents of his city, instead of by certain of them as heretofore, authorizing the enactment of ordinances to prevent negroes from moving into any block where whites predominate and vice versa, and revising the saloon limits so as to prevent the conducting of a saloon on the state fair grounds. Curiously, although the tax-paying voters authorized three bond issues, the proposition to increase the bond limit of the city from \$8,000,000 to \$9,000,000 was defeated, for the reason that non-taxpaying voters opposed such increase. The people also adopted a proposition to permit the consolidation of the four street railway corporations of Dallas, and they defeated an initiated jitney ordinance meant to take the place of the jitney ordinance enacted by the commis-

¹ Unless otherwise indicated the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, pp. 490 and 668.

sioners some 10 months ago. The bond issues authorized were \$500,000 for a municipal light plant to serve all users, \$300,000 for storm sewers, and \$350,000 for a plaza in front of the new union station. Authority granted in 1914 to issue \$400,000 for a municipal light plant to light the streets and public buildings only, was canceled.

In a straw vote a majority was given for the proposed street railway and light plant franchises. The propositions relating to these proposed franchises commanded almost exclusive attention throughout the campaign. Dallas has four street railway corporations. These and the principal electric light and power plant were acquired by the Stone & Webster interests in 1902. The franchises of the three street railway corporations east of the Trinity river, as well as the franchise of the electric light company, will expire in 1922. The franchise of the fourth street railway corporation, which was granted by the city of Oak Cliff lying west of the Trinity river before Oak Cliff was annexed to Dallas, has about 25 years to run. Soon after Stone & Webster acquired these properties they began efforts to secure longer term franchises in lieu of those to expire in 1922, but without success. Two years ago a large number of citizens organized what was termed the Greater Dallas association, for the purpose of procuring an amendment of the city charter so as to permit of the granting of indeterminate franchises as well as of franchises limited to 20 years and to eliminate from the charter the requirement that all franchise holders should pay a gross receipts tax of 4 per cent. Henry D. Lindsley, a leading business man, now mayor of Dallas, was prominent in advocating such changes, but this effort also was unsuccessful.

A year later, Mr. Lindsley was elected mayor as the nominee of a citizens association, upon a platform which declared for expert investigation of all public utilities in Dallas and for a settlement of the franchise problem. Together with

the nominees of this association for commissioners, Mr. Lindsley was elected.

In August, 1915, the commissioners employed Edward W. Bemis of Chicago to investigate and report upon the Stone & Webster properties in Dallas and the Dallas gas company. About February 1, he made a preliminary report upon the Stone & Webster companies. Thereupon, the commissioners proposed a franchise charter amendment and also franchises for each, the street railways and the electric light plant.

The proposed amendment, which has been adopted, permitted the granting of determinate franchises for not to exceed 20 years, as heretofore, but it was provided that all such franchises should reserve to the city the right to purchase the properties at expiration or to cause them to be purchased by a new licensee. The amendment also permitted of indeterminate franchises. In lieu of the flat requirement for a 4 per cent tax on gross receipts, it was provided that the city might grant franchises with such a requirement or else with provisions for "service at cost."

The proposed franchises contemplated that the electric light plant should remain the property of a corporation separate from the street railways, as at present, so that the city might buy one or the other or both of the properties at pleasure. It was provided that the four street railways should consolidate. Both of these franchises were indeterminate after 10 years and provided for "service at cost," being modeled after the Cleveland franchises.

Stone & Webster agreed with the commissioners on all points save two: valuations and rates of return. Dr. Bemis valued the Oak Cliff lines, owned by the Northern Texas traction company, which has a franchise with 25 years of life, at \$1,350,000. It seems that this valuation was not controverted. He valued the electric light property at \$3,000,000 and the three street railways in Dallas proper at \$3,500,000, a total of \$6,500,000. Stone & Webster claimed that these properties had actually cost them \$9,700,000.

The Dallas electric securities company, a Maine corporation which holds the stocks, bonds and notes of these four corporations last indicated, is capitalized for \$13,500,000, but Stone & Webster asked that this capitalization should be disregarded in respect to the proposed franchises and asked that their actual investment, \$9,700,000, should be considered. The differences in valuation as between Dr. Bemis and Stone & Webster arose upon two items—depreciation and overhead. Stone & Webster asserted that there should be no deduction for depreciation, as the properties were kept 100 per cent efficient, but Dr. Bemis deducted some \$2,000,000 for depreciation. Stone & Webster claimed that their overhead costs—for promotion, financing, interest during construction, engineering, and legal expenses—amounted to approximately 34 per cent, but Dr. Bemis allowed only 20 per cent therefor. The valuations in this case were for both purchase and rate-making purposes, but there was only a single valuation on each of the properties.

The proposed franchises at first allowed the street railway company a rate of return of 6 per cent and the electric light 7 per cent, this latter company being more prosperous than the other. These rates were non-accumulative, except that as much as one per cent a year above the stipulated rates might be taken to make up deficiencies. Stone & Webster asked for a return of 8 per cent on both properties.

When it seemed that the parties had reached an *impasse*, prominent business men sought to bring them together, with these results: the mayor and the majority of the commissioners agreed to and did add \$500,000 to the light plant valuation because of equities, thus making a total of \$7,000,000 for the light and street railway properties other than the Oak Cliff lines, and they agreed to and did make the rate of return for the light company 8 per cent for 10 years, this in recognition of the corporation's rights under the existing franchise and 7 per cent after 10 years, and they made the

rate of return for the street railway corporation 7 per cent. Stone & Webster offered to accept a valuation of \$8,500,000 for these properties, with a rate of return of 8 per cent, in order to effect a settlement, but this offer was rejected.

At this stage the conferences were concluded and Mayor Lindsley and Commissioners Shannon and Cason voted to submit the franchise amendments to the people and also to submit for a straw vote the two franchises. They further voted to submit a proposition to revoke authority granted in 1914 for the issuance of \$400,000 of bonds for a municipal lighting plant to be limited to city government service and further to submit a proposition to authorize \$500,000 of bonds for a municipal lighting plant for general service. This latter proposition was styled a "club" to be used by the city government to secure the acceptance of the franchises. Commissioners Lang and Winfrey voted against all of these propositions, which afterwards were styled "the mayor's program."

Dr. Bemis's report was not completed until after this action had been taken and was not available to the public until a week or ten days before the election. However, something of its contents had been made known through Mayor Lindsley.

Mayor Lindsley made a brilliant and somewhat spectacular campaign for his program. It was known that he was a splendid organizer, but it developed that he was also a very effective speaker. He carried the burden of the campaign, speaking at noon and at night. His principal assistants were Commissioner Cason, City Attorney O'Donnell, and Thomas B. Love, former superintendent of banking and insurance of the state.

The mayor's program won in entirety except that his proposition to increase the city bond limit was defeated. This may or may not hamper him in issuing electric light bonds. With the cancelation of \$400,000 of electric light bonds formerly authorized there remains a margin of approximately \$1,000,000 in the present bond limit. It may be that this may be stretched to cover the three bond issues

authorized at this election. If not, it is sufficient to care for any two of these issues.

At this writing matters are in *statu quo*. The plans to execute the mayor's program have not begun.

Although a strong fight was made upon all the bond issues upon the ground that no more bonds should be issued for a time, and also upon the ground that the light plant bonds especially should be defeated, the two propositions looking to the purchase of ground for a plaza or park in front of the new union station carried by a liberal majority. This proposition was inaugurated and pressed by *The Dallas Morning News* and *The Evening Journal*.

For some months the board of appraisers of this city has been at work with experts revaluing all of the taxable property according to the Sommers system.

TOM FINTY, JR.¹

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Los Angeles Mayoralty and Other Municipal Affairs.—When police magistrate Rose was elected mayor of Los Angeles, there was a general expectation that an "open town" would be inaugurated, but this view failed to take into consideration that the temper of the community will not stand for very much latitude along those lines. The liquor business is about as closely and strictly regulated at this writing as it was previous to the advent of Mayor Rose. There is no "red light" district, no dancing in cafés, nor any of the usual concomitants of an "open town." Mayor Rose's accomplishments were practically *nil*, his administration being uneventful and generally unsatisfactory. As a matter of fact, he was not even "urged by his friends" to stand for re-election, an illuminating commentary.

Having made an experiment with a police judge, Los Angeles is now experimenting with a chief of police for mayor. At the election his principal opponent was President Whiffen of the city council, who had been a member of that body for a number of years and chairman of its finance committee. Mr. Whiffen was

a straight and honest official, with an intimate knowledge of the city's affairs. While not taking at all times a broad view of public questions, there was never any doubt about his devotion to the city and his knowledge of its present needs. Chief Sebastian owed his election to a fluke rather than to his attainments. In fact it is doubtful if he would have been elected had it not been for an attack upon his character toward the end of his campaign, when indictments were brought against him by the grand jury for contributing to the delinquency of a minor, for which charge he was tried and acquitted.² A sympathetic reaction was created in the minds of the people by these charges being brought in the midst of a political campaign, and the voters gave him the benefit of the doubt. He was accordingly "vindicated" and elected by a very handsome majority.

Mayor Sebastian's record is very similar to that of his predecessor. In other words, there seems to be very little difference between the qualifications of a police judge and a chief of police for the office of mayor. Sometime possibly Los Angeles may wake up and realize that the question of administering a great city is a professional task, which should be assigned to a professionally equipped man.

Notwithstanding Los Angeles's shortcomings in the matter of chief executives, the city continues to advance materially. The aqueduct enterprise is gradually (although much too slowly) being put on a paying basis. Some revenue is being derived from the sale of aqueduct water, and undoubtedly within a few years most of it will be sold and distributed, largely for purposes of irrigation, until such time as it is needed for domestic use, and thus a princely revenue derived.

Gradually, through a process of annexation, the city is absorbing adjacent desirable territory and communities, and eventually through a process of evolution, there will be a practical consolidation of city and county government.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 487.

¹ Editor, *The Evening Journal*.

The San Pedro harbor, which is in the city limits, is being splendidly developed by a conscientious and competent harbor commission, and, through a course of phenomenally successful litigation pursued by a succession of able and vigilant city attorneys, has been redeemed from private control, so that the waterfront and tidelands, which, only a few years ago, were practically entirely in the hands of private corporate interests, are now almost wholly under municipal ownership and control.

Large problems are up before the state railroad commission for consideration. A suit has been commenced by the city involving the condemnation of practically the entire local plant of the Southern California Edison company, the largest distributor of electric light and power in Los Angeles, in order to use the distributing lines of the private company for the distribution of the 100,000 or more horse power of hydro-electric energy to be produced, practically as a by-product, of the aqueduct. The machinery for the generation of the first unit of this power is practically all installed and in shape, and we are advised by responsible city officials that if the distributing lines were in the control of the city the city could be distributing aqueduct power to its consumers within the year 1916. There is a strong probability of some sort of a working arrangement being arrived at between the city and the private companies looking to eventual acquisition of the private distributing lines within a very few years. If this falls through, however, the city will have to proceed with the building of parallel distributing lines and go into direct competition with the private companies.

The commission also has under consideration the matter of gas rates, which has been a "burning issue" for some time. This problem is complicated by virtue of the fact that the companies serve to the consumers in Los Angeles a mixed product of natural and artificial gas. Eventually a large portion of the gas supply of Los Angeles will be artificial gas produced in the neighboring oil fields.

Los Angeles has had two competing, well developed telephone companies, each having about 100,000 subscribers in Los Angeles county. Most people look upon the necessity for double telephone service as a considerable nuisance. The franchise of the Bell company, doing business under the title of the Pacific telephone & telegraph company, in Los Angeles, is expiring shortly, and there is no disposition on the part of the city authorities to renew same unless there is a getting together of the two companies. This now seems probable, a tentative announcement to the effect that there would be a merger having recently been made.

Taking it by and large, the Los Angeles situation may be summed up: In her elective public officials, the city has fared rather badly, most of them being men of mediocre ability. In the administration of the large departments of the city's business, however, the city has been quite fortunate in having unusually conscientious and high grade men in charge, and its large enterprises have been conducted wholly without graft and entirely in the interests of the people. Notwithstanding, therefore, considerable incompetence in high places, looked at broadly, Los Angeles may be said to be making the same great forward stride in civic advance for which it has become well known during the past decade or two.

Boston's Municipal Election (Dec. 14, 1915) stirred up more public interest than any off-year election since the new city charter went into effect. In addition to the regular annual election of three members of the council of nine elected at large, there was a special vacancy to be filled for an unexpired term of one year. One of the continuing members, Daniel J. McDonald, although recommended by the good government association at the time of his election, had proved a backslider and gone over to the Curley forces. Thus Mayor Curley saw an opportunity, if he could elect his men for the entire four vacancies, to acquire for himself a working majority in the council. He therefore put into the field a ticket of four candidates with his personal backing

and took the stump in their behalf and conducted an active campaign in their interest. He also secured for his candidates the backing of the Democratic city committee, the survival of the old machine, the control of which he had acquired since his election as mayor. Although there are no party designations on the municipal ballot in Boston, the mayor undertook to conduct his campaign for his candidates for the council upon a strictly partisan basis.

In addition the situation was complicated by two candidates appealing for votes ostensibly as Republicans, but really put into the field for the purpose of dividing the Republican vote which otherwise could be counted on to go fairly solidly for the candidates endorsed by the good government association.

The association endorsed a ticket of four candidates, all of whom happened to be Democrats in national politics, but all of whom had a record of faithful and conscientious non-partisan service to the city. The candidates thus endorsed organized a citizens' committee and fought the campaign out squarely upon the issue: Shall Boston have a Curley council or a citizens' council?

In addition to the usual circular of the good government association to every voter, special local circulars were sent out by local citizen committees in every section of the city. The Curley forces mailed a general circular ostensibly in the name of the Democratic city committee and also issued a large number of local circulars. They conducted a campaign of rallies over a period of more than two weeks and the candidates of the association conducted rallies during the last few days of the campaign.

Mayor Curley and his followers resorted to every desperate political trick to try to bring success. Toward the end of the campaign, large numbers of city employes received postal cards asking them to attend at a given time secret meetings in various parts of the city. Only those presenting these postal cards were admitted to these meetings and the cards were collected at the door and a

careful list of those in attendance compiled by the Curley forces. Those city employes neglecting the summons were marked for special attention as far as possible. Those in attendance were urged with threats and in every other possible way to go out and work for the entire Curley ticket. One head of a city department appointed by Mayor Curley issued a circular in German asking all citizens of German descent to rally to the Curley ticket because one of the citizens' candidates was a member of a firm of bankers which had helped float loans for the Allies. The author of a political roorback was pursued about the city by the association candidates and newspaper men in taxicabs and the real facts with regard to his circular were disclosed by a dramatic cross-examination. Altogether the campaign was the most exciting of any recent municipal election other than those at which a mayor was to be chosen.

The results were exceedingly gratifying: 79,578 voters (or 69.45 per cent of the registration) attended the polls. Every candidate endorsed by the good government association was elected by substantial pluralities and in two cases by actual majorities. The vote was as follows:

(For the three terms of three years each)

James J. Storrow (G. G. A.)....	42,961
John J. Attridge (G. G. A.)....	38,441
Walter L. Collins (G. G. A.)....	36,505
James A. Watson (Curley).....	32,566
John J. Conway (Curley).....	30,939
Redmond S. Fitzgerald (Curley)	30,319
Walter N. Baker.....	5,515
William Berwin.....	5,389

(For the unexpired term of one year)

Thomas J. Kenny (G. G. A.)....	43,346
William F. Doyle (Curley)....	31,265



Mayor Lun n, the Socialist mayor of Schenectady, has been expelled from his party because he regards the government of a city as intended for the benefit of its people and not as a part of the party machine.

Chicago's Primary and Municipal Elections.—Faced by two clear issues—whether their city council shall remain a free legislative body and whether the spoils system shall flourish unchecked, to the detriment of efficient municipal government, the voters of Chicago, men and women, at the aldermanic election of April 4 reaffirmed with added emphasis the intelligent verdict they had given at the aldermanic primary February 29.

The issue regarding aldermanic freedom from executive dictation has never been put so strongly in Chicago before. Alderman Merriam on the council floor had made it plain as day. The man in the street knew all about the mayor's efforts to impose his will upon aldermen noted chiefly for their intelligence and independence. The women voters understood the matter quite as clearly as did the men—in the seventh ward, more clearly, as they showed in the primary election when they saved Alderman Kimball from defeat.

The spoils issue was brought vividly before the voters two days before the election by the tragic death of Dr. Theodore B. Sachs, head of the great municipal tuberculosis sanitarium and a national authority on the "great white plague." This institution was practically created by him and erected through an appropriation voted by the people. Day and night for six years he worked for or in it, refusing all compensation.

Popular demand last summer forced upon the reluctant mayor the reappointment of Dr. Sachs. But after ten months of struggle—"a nightmare," he called it—against the use of the institution for political purposes, the director resigned with a protest addressed to the mayor in which he declared that "efficient service under the present conditions is absolutely impossible."

The mayor of Chicago then astounded the people by declaring Dr. Sachs' the worst appointment he had made. The mayor's pliant civil service commission began an "investigation" of the affairs of the institution. Two days before the election Dr. Sachs, broken-hearted, took

his own life. This martyrdom of a wonderfully public-spirited and unselfish man, together with the hunt of extermination made by the "city hall" upon faithful and reliable members of the council, emphasized the election issues.

The result was a complete defeat for the "city hall." Those of the "rebel nine" aldermen who had passed the primary were re-elected by convincing majorities, except Alderman Demsey of the twenty-eighth ward, and he was handicapped by the post-primary indorsement of the ward organization of the "city hall" faction. Where losses to good government occurred in the February primary, they were made up at the April election. Alderman Stern, Republican, was replaced by Ulysses S. Schwartz, Democrat; and Alderman Ray, Republican, was succeeded by John G. Horne, Democrat—both men of good reputation.

Reliable Democrats of the Alderman Richert type were re-elected—Richert, chairman of the finance committee, Doyle, Block and T. J. Lynch. The victories of men like Dr. Nance, Kimball, Kjellander, Link, Pretzel and Watson were decisive and spectacular. Rodriguez, a brilliant Socialist, went back with a big plurality. Wherever, in the so-called "poorer wards," use of city hall patronage had won primary victories, in the final election the result was reversed.

In only three contested wards did the administration win and in each its victory was due entirely to strong political organization. Alderman Michaelson, the mayor's council spokesman, running in a ward which gave Mayor Thompson 13,726 plurality last year, won by 900 votes; Alderman Norris, whose ward had given Mayor Thompson 9,370 plurality, was re-elected by 1,600; Alderman Rea enjoyed the luxury of seeing his Democratic opponent (a city hall jobholder) withdraw from the ticket at the last moment; but at this last moment a substitute Democrat was found. Independent voters of the ward gave him and the Socialist 4,000 votes each, but Rea succeeded in getting back to the council.

The municipal voters' league made recommendations in 34 wards, passing by the first ward, where "Bathhouse John" Coughlin had the usual walk-over because the Republican ward bosses put no real candidate up against him. The league's recommendations were successful in 23 wards, while in 11 wards the candidates indorsed by the league were defeated. Of the eleven opposed, however, five were Socialists recommended in preference to old party candidates who were sure of election.

The league's participation in the primary and election aroused the intense hostility of the mayor and his administration. The league does not make recommendations regarding mayors and concerns itself only with aldermen. In commenting on the records of the aldermen, the league, however, was forced to discuss acts of the administration, and the "city hall" smarted under the charge of the league that the administration was seeking to make "rubber stamps" of the aldermen. The attacks upon the league and its officers continued throughout the contest. They varied from attempts to appropriate the league's name and charter, to personal but wholly irrelevant assaults upon its officers.

In the course of the campaign, the usual non-partisan caucus of aldermen to determine the manner of making up the committees for the succeeding council was called for Thursday, March 23, about two weeks before election. To this caucus more than fifty of the seventy aldermen were invited. The "gray wolf" element as usual was excluded, that being one of the chief purposes of the non-partisan caucus. The aldermen picked a committee of six members, which committee following the election was to recommend a list of council committees and the members thereof for the year 1916-17.

The day before this caucus was held, certain "city hall" aldermen called a special meeting of the council for the same day, to do away with the present method of non-partisan organization, which has been in force for 15 years. The independent element in the council,

with but a half day's notice of the proposed meeting, became active and there was a hasty counting of noses. At the special council meeting the effort of Mayor Thompson's supporters to take the independent aldermen by surprise and to upset the existing non-partisan method of organizing the council was frustrated by 46 to 24 votes. That afternoon the non-partisan caucus was held and Aldermen Richert, Kerner and Geiger, Democrats, and Aldermen Nance, Lipps and Sitts, Republicans, were chosen to recommend the committee list for 1916-17. Following the election the committee on committees announced its intention of going to St. Augustine, Fla., out of reach of political influence, there to make up the council committees for the ensuing year "on the basis of honesty and fitness."

The primary campaign had been fought out on the issue: shall the city council remain a free and independent part of the city government? The Municipal voters' league in its yearly analysis of council activities found this to be the issue. The public recognized it, but the mayor, elected in 1915 by almost 150,000 plurality, embarked in an active campaign against those aldermen who had been leaders in the fight for the independence of the council. Nine of these leaders, who came to be called the "rebel nine," made common cause against the administration. Of their number, Aldermen Nance, Kimball, Kjellander, Link, Watson and Dempsey were renominated after severe contests. The women's votes saved Mr. Kimball from defeat. Alderman Pretzel was renominated without opposition.

Aldermen Stern and Ray were defeated through the mayor's efforts. Ray had been especially valuable—an honest and reliable labor leader. Stern, serving his first year and being the first reliable alderman in the council rollcall, had shown remarkable judgment in voting right on the questions coming "right off the bat." Thus seven of the "rebel nine" came safely through despite the mayor's fire. The result of the primary was a clear demonstration of the intention of the people

of Chicago that their city shall continue to be council governed.

*

A Socialist Chosen in Milwaukee.—Milwaukee has chosen another Socialist as its mayor, this time in the person of Daniel W. Hoan, who had been city attorney. This result was due not only to the continuous growth of the Socialist vote, but to the fact that the non-partisan administration had failed to impress itself favorably upon the people of the city. In 1900 the Socialist candidate for mayor received 2,984 votes. Since that time the Socialist vote for this office has increased at every election until at the one in April, 1916, Mr. Hoan received 33,863 votes, a majority of 1,700. The successful candidate will not have back of him a sympathetic administration, for the Socialists elected less than one third of the aldermen and failed to elect their candidates for treasurer and comptroller. The Socialistic vote for these two offices, however, was larger than at any time in the history of the city, while the opposition in both of these offices lost from one to three thousand votes. The personal belief of the secretary of the City club is that Mr. Hoan will do his best to give the city an honest, efficient and democratic administration.

With regard to the council, the secretary of the Voters' league (W. J. Bollenbeck) writes that 31 out of the 37 candidates recommended by the league at the primary election were nominated, and at the final election 23 out of 36 were chosen. In several of the wards no preference was expressed, and in practically all instances with one exception the men who were elected in preference to those recommended by the league were the league's second choice. The fact that the issue was largely Socialism vs. anti-Socialism, and that many voters took this into consideration in casting their votes, prevented other recommendations from being carried out. In the words of the secretary, "Many electors made so-called non-partisanship the basis for their vote, rather than real fitness in some particular instances. The fact that

those officials whom the league recommended for retirement were retired and many of those who were clearly not qualified for office were defeated, shows that our results were anything but discouraging." The Socialists elected nine ward aldermen (they formerly had eight). Former-mayor Seidel was elected alderman at large, having been recommended by the voters' league. The so-called non-partisans elected the other five aldermen at large. With one Socialist alderman at large that party has 11 members, as against 26 non-partisans in the council.

*

Kansas City's Municipal Election.—After a four years' term of service, Mayor Jost has gone down to a defeat by over 8,000 majority, although two years ago he received a majority approaching 10,000. There seems to be a general feeling of relief among public spirited citizens of Kansas City at this result, although there is a varying interpretation of its meaning. There is a general agreement, however, that elections in this community for years have been notoriously corrupt. One correspondent writes:

"We have just had an election in which the forces of progress have again been returned to office. Mayor Jost was re-elected two years ago by ten thousand majority and was defeated last Tuesday by over eight thousand. In a city the size of this that is some change of sentiment. The fact is in my judgment we nearly carried the election two years ago if we did not carry it. It was stolen from us in the most brazen way. During the last two years the grafters and crooks fell out among themselves over a division of the spoils, so this time we had a fairly honest election with the crooks divided.

"I feel that the experiences of the last two years have been worth while and have left our people so thoroughly disgusted with the old form of city government that we will be able to present and have adopted as near a commission form of charter as our state constitution will permit. I feel we will be able to take up the work where we left off when Mayor Brown was defeated and after quickly restoring all

we lost be able to get all we would have got if he had been re-elected. We have only been delayed four years in our work. We won't be able to undo the street car franchise steal but with that exception all else will be recovered."

*

Atlantic City's Commission Contest.—

Atlantic City held its second election under the commission form of government on May 9, with results that are variously interpreted. Mayor Riddle had achieved wellnigh national notoriety through his open advocacy of a wide open town and Sunday. His contention was that the prosperity of the city depended upon the maintenance of such a policy. The important interests in the community, which has become perhaps the greatest pleasure ground in the world, took a different view of the matter, feeling that decency and sobriety were civic assets. The ticket representing this latter idea was accordingly supported, and Mayor Riddle was defeated by a substantial majority. So threatening was the menace of Riddle to make the resort the paradise of the sporting element that minor differences of opinion were forgotten in the combined purpose to save the resort from impending degradation. The election of the candidates pledged to the enforcement of law and the preservation of good order was regarded as a triumph for decency, although some of the men on the ticket were supported by old time political interests who seemed to be ready to utilize this opportunity to get back a measure of their lost power. It will be interesting to see whether the aroused sentiment will be equally effective against a reversion to former political methods.

*

Attempt to Recall the Commission Form of Government in Waukegan, Ill.—In Waukegan before it adopted the commission form of government, like most cities of its size and kind, incompetency and inefficiency were the characteristics of its government, with probably some

incidental graft. Then the commission form was adopted, not because the city was educated for it, but because of the activity of some of the leaders. Little or no sense of responsibility had been aroused and the press was not very active afterward in teaching the citizens how to use the new machinery.

Notwithstanding this, under the commission form many local improvements were made and some economies effected, but considerable of the old inefficiency remained. A spirit of reaction developed in the second election when a mayor of the old school was chosen on the commission form. The town had been extremely "wet." Those who had been responsible for securing the commission form and who had tired of their work were aroused by conditions, and the saloons were voted out by a liberal majority. Before the election the leaders of the "wet" movement started a petition to recall not the commissioners but the commission form of government. The franchise for the street railway was pending and there was a belief that the saloon and corporation interests were hand in glove. A good government league was formed with efficient business men in charge and the recall movement was defeated by a much larger majority than was rolled up in the "wet" and "dry" fight.

The campaign to retain the commission form of government was purely an educational one and the people were made to see the difference between a bad commissioner and the form. The advocates of the existing government used as a picture of the situation a man with a new automobile who had hired a chauffeur to run it. He wrecked the car, broke the speed limits, got arrested and did everything a wise chauffeur should not do with a good car. The question was then asked, what would you do, condemn the car or kick out the chauffeur. The voters then saw the distinction between the machinery and the man, and the day was saved.¹

¹ Based on a letter from Edward Amherst Ott, Waukegan, Ill.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Obligation of Street Railway Company to Pave Portion of Street Between its Tracks.—In the past few months several decisions on this important subject have been rendered. Of these the most important is that of the United States supreme court in *Southern Wisconsin Railway Co. v. City of Madison*.¹ The plaintiffs in error first operated under a franchise which provided (1) that the "said company shall keep the space between the rails and for the distance of one foot on the outside side of the rails in proper repair," and (2) that whenever a street in which were tracks should be paved or macadamized the railway company should also pave and macadamize its portion of the street. In 1892 a new franchise took the place of the old one which omitted the second of the above provisions. It added, however, that the grant was "subject to such reasonable rules and regulations respecting such streets . . . as the said council may from time to time enact. In June, 1910, an ordinance was adopted ordering the railway company to pave its portion of the street with asphalt subject to a penalty of \$50 a day for delay. The city brought suit on this ordinance and the judgment of the state court being for the city the railway company appealed on the ground that the ordinance deprived them of their property without due process of law. The federal supreme court, through Justice Holmes, held that the franchise was reasonably subject to the interpretation that the company must repair, and that, as the state court had found that repair with crushed stone was not a suitable method of repair when the rest of the street was paved with asphalt, its decision was conclusive of the obligation of the company under the franchise. The ordinance imposed no new obligation, but was simply a method of enforcing an existing one and therefore did not deprive the railway company of its property without due process of law. It would seem that this opinion establishes that "repair"

means repair with the materials used on the other portions of the street, or at least in such a manner as not to threaten the security of the remainder of the pavement.²

The case of *United Railways and Electric Co., of Baltimore v. City of Baltimore** presents a contrary point of view in a somewhat similar case. This case arose out of the attempt of the city to require the railway company to pay the cost of paving the portion of a certain street situated between its tracks and two feet on each side thereof under an act of the Maryland legislature.⁴ The portion of the line concerned was operated under a franchise dating back to 1859 which required the railway company to "repair" but was silent on the subject of paving and repaving. There was in this franchise a reservation of power to amend. The court held that this was not a proper exercise of the power to amend. "That power," it said, "is not unlimited, and was never intended to confer upon the General Assembly the power to deprive the citizen of his property contrary to the law of the land, or to take private property for public use without just compensation." The court reasoned, therefore, that the payment demanded was a special assessment on private property and could be justified only on the ground of benefit and that it was impossible to show any benefit to the railway company.

This decision, of course, makes it impossible in Maryland to cause a street railway to contribute to the cost of paving a street unless such contribution is required by its franchise. On the question of special assessments⁵ it is undoubtedly sup-

² Supreme court cited as among other authorities the following leading cases: *Reading v. United Traction Co.*, 52 Atlantic 106, 64 Atlantic 446; *N. Y. v. Harlem Bridge, etc., Co.*, 78 N. E. 1072.

³ 96 Atlantic 880.

⁴ Acts 1914, c. 37.

⁵ A contrary view has been taken with regard to special assessments on street railways in several states; see, for example, *Los Angeles Pacific Co. v. Hubbard*, 121 Pacific 306, where it was held that a street railway's use of the street constituted a piece

¹ 36 Supreme Court Reporter 400.

ported by the decisions in some states. On the question of amendment of a franchise under a reserved power of amendment, it is flatly in conflict with the decision of the federal supreme court in the case of *Fairhaven, etc., Ry. v. City of New Haven*¹ in which the facts were almost identical with those in the Baltimore case. The supreme court there held in substance that if the "change and increase of burden" upon the franchise grantee had proper relation to the objects of the grant or any of the public rights of the state, and "is not imposed in sheer oppression and wrong" or in bad faith, it does not violate any of the rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States. The position of the United States supreme court on this question must be admitted to be more reasonable than that of the Maryland court which has the effect of perpetuating a gravel road obligation of 1859 on the part of the franchise holder, while the city and its people are bound by the requirements of the age of concrete.

A somewhat different aspect of this question is presented by *Georgia Railway and Electric Company v. City of Atlanta*.² In this case the street railway operated on its own right of way along one side of the street. The street was improved and the right of way assessed for a portion of the cost of the improvement. The court held that the right of way is not exempt from assessment on the ground of lack of benefit. Benefit it held to be primarily a legislative question into which the court will not inquire except "in extraordinary cases presenting a manifest abuse of legislative authority." The court also upheld provision of Atlanta charter allowing levy upon and sale of such portion of a street railway for non payment of assessment.



Zone Ordinance Again.—In the case of *Curtis v. City of Los Angeles*,³ the supreme court of California established a limit to which it would not carry the doctrine parcel of land subject to assessment under the Vrooman act.

¹ 27 Supreme Court Reporter 74, 78.

² 87 South Eastern 1058.

³ 156 Pacific 462.

trine of *Hadachek v. Sebastian*.⁴ The plaintiff had established a stable and corral for mules outside the limits of the eight districts in which at that time a permit was required for such an establishment. Later the city council amended the ordinance by creating a small new district including the plaintiff's stable. He was refused a permit although 51 such permits had been granted within the original eight districts. The court held that under the circumstances the ordinance was oppressive and discriminatory.⁵ The supreme court of Louisiana has recently gone so far in the case of *Patout Bros. v. Mayor, etc., of the City of New Iberia*,⁶ as to declare invalid an ordinance forbidding livery stables in the residential section of that city. It held that a livery stable was not a nuisance *per se*. The effect of this case upon the future of zone ordinances is minimized by the fact that the law under which New Iberia is incorporated gives the city only power "to regulate and preserve the peace and good order of the town, and to provide and maintain its cleanliness and sanitary condition." A Baltimore ordinance requiring a permit from the mayor and council in the case of buildings erected or converted for motion picture theatres was upheld as a valid exercise of the police power in *Brown v. Stubbs*.⁷ The court emphasized the danger to life and property involved in the gathering of crowds especially those made up of women and children.



Massachusetts Alternative Charter Act.—The Massachusetts alternative charter act⁸ by which cities in that state, except Boston, may adopt any one of four alternative forms of government was held to be constitutional in *Cunningham v. Rockwood*.⁹ The case arose in Cambridge which had adopted one of the alternatives.

⁴ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 324.

⁵ Cites *Dobbins v. Los Angeles*, 25 Supreme Court Reporter 18.

⁶ 70 Southern 616.

⁷ 97 Atlantic 227.

⁸ Acts of 1915, c. 267.

⁹ 111 North Eastern 409.

This case is peculiarly interesting in view of the recent opinion of the attorney general of New York that a part of the alternative charter act of that state was unconstitutional. We hope to give the readers of the *Review* a fuller discussion of this subject in a later issue.

✱

Conflict Between a City Ordinance and a Railroad Commission Order.—The railroad commissioners of Florida ordered the Atlantic Coast Line Railway to erect a wooden station at St. Cloud in a location where an ordinance of that city required a fire-proof structure. When the commissioners sought to enforce the order by mandamus the writ was refused in *State ex rel Burr v. Atlantic Coast Line Railway* because of the effect on the reasonableness of the order of the ordinance in question.

✱

Public Utilities.—Several important decisions affecting public utilities deserve more than the brief mention which can be given them here. In *McIninch v. Auburn Mutual Lighting and Power Co.*,¹ it was held that where a franchise ordinance provides for meters but, while it defines the rates to be charged for current, is silent on the subject of a charge for the meter, no such charge can be made. Following a contrary rule of interpretation the supreme court of Alabama in *Birmingham Waterworks v. Hernandy* that where in a water company franchise there is nothing said about making service connections and bringing the water to the property line, the connection must be supplied at the expense of the consumer. This is one more authority on what has been the minority side of this question. In *City of Portland v. Portland Railway Light and Power Co.*² and *City of Portland v. Portland Gas and Coke Co.*,³ it was held that a provision of a franchise for the payment of 2½ per cent of the gross receipts of the grantee to the city in lieu of all other charges, etc., was no bar to the imposition by the city of a 3 per cent gross receipt tax on all corporations. The city could not

contract away its taxing power, and the fact that certain franchises contain no gross receipt provision did not produce inequality or discrimination of a character to invalidate the tax.

✱

The Jitney Bus Once More.—*Huston v. City of Des Moines*⁴ upholds a jitney bus ordinance requiring license, bond, etc., passed in accordance with general law.⁵ The court held that "jitney motor busses" was a reasonable classification. Great emphasis was also laid on the plenary authority of the legislature to regulate common carriers in the streets.⁶

✱

Parking of Automobiles in Streets.—This subject, one of the most vexed problems with which our city fathers have to deal, has received thorough judicial treatment because of the obstinacy of a Des Moines lawyer. An ordinance of that city was adopted forbidding the leaving of automobiles and other vehicles on certain streets for more than a limited time. Pugh, an attorney, insisted on standing his machine before his office on one of the prohibited streets, and sought to enjoin the enforcement of the ordinance. The situation was complicated by a state statute forbidding motor vehicles to be left within twenty feet of a corner or of a hydrant. The act further provided that a city could not exclude the owner of an automobile from the free use of the public highway. Pugh contended that under this statute he had a right to leave his automobile standing in front of his office indefinitely. The Iowa supreme court in the very clear and well reasoned case of *Pugh v. City of Des Moines*,⁷ asserted the right of the city to prevent the private use of its streets and to keep them open to the public. On the question of the rights of the individual

¹ 156 N. W. 883.

² Section 754 a Supplemental Supplement, 1915.

³ Other recent cases on this subject are: *State v. Seattle Taxicab and Transfer Co.*, 156 Pacific 837; *Hazelton v. City of Atlanta*, 87 South Eastern 1043; *City of New Orleans v. Le Blanc*, 71 Southern 248. They all uphold the constitutionality of the regulations imposed.

⁷ 156 N. W. 892.

¹ 156 N. W. 1075.

² 156 Pacific 1058.

³ 156 Pacific 1070.

it went back to Lord Ellenborough's famous declaration in *Rex v. Cross*.¹ "No one can make a stable yard of the king's highway." The court held in conclusion that the statute must be construed "to mean that free use which is involved in

the right to come and go and drive upon the streets without let or hindrance. The idea of the free use of a street does not involve the right to obstruct the free use of the street."

THOMAS H. REED.

University of California.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The Convention of the Intercollegiate Division, National Municipal League.—The convention of the intercollegiate division of the National Municipal League on April 28 and 29 was most successful, and promises well for the future of our work. Besides the secretary and the speakers at the various meetings, there were present delegates from the following universities: Ohio University, Colgate University, Emory and Henry College, Pennsylvania State College, Yale University, University of North Dakota, College of the City of New York, Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, Reed College, and Haverford College.

After registering at the city club, the delegates met at the faculty club at Columbia University at one o'clock, and were received and welcomed by Professors C. A. Beard and H. L. McBain and Dean Keppel of Columbia, after which we had the pleasure of meeting and of hearing a short address upon the new significance of political problems by President Nicholas Murray Butler. At the luncheon which was held at the faculty club, Professors Beard and McBain and Dean Keppel made short talks in which they spoke of the value of the college civic clubs, and touched upon questions of policy with special reference to the part the faculty members should take in the work of the clubs.

Following the luncheon from 2.30 until 5.15 o'clock a business meeting of the delegates was held. The secretary made a statement concerning his endeavor to bring the clubs together since the first of the present year, and concerning the future policy for the clubs. He described the personnel of the new advisory committee, showing that all were men who

had had vital contact with community problems in various parts of the country, and who should be very helpful in offering suggestions for the future work of the clubs. He then showed the booklet on "Social Activities for Graduates" that had been printed for distribution among recent graduates, or men about to graduate. Copies of this booklet were distributed among the delegates, also copies of a chart that had been prepared by a Pennsylvania student, relating to the distribution of the budget of Philadelphia. Suggestions were made concerning possible ways by which the secretary could be of service to the clubs, in distributing literature, suggesting topics, and securing speakers for the clubs.

Following the report of the secretary, reports of great interest concerning the work of their respective clubs were made by the following men: Messrs. Hunt of Yale, Johnson of Reed College, Shorb of the University of North Dakota, Ellenbogen of the College of the City of New York, Collings of Colgate, Stevens of the University of Pennsylvania, McVey of Ohio University, and Adams of Penn State. As Williams College could not be represented at the convention at this time, their secretary, Meredith Wood, sent an elaborate statement of the activities of that very active club.

After hearing the reports from the clubs there was held an election of three members to represent the students upon the advisory committee of the intercollegiate division, the following being elected: Paul Shorb of the University of North Dakota, Clinton Biddle of Colgate, and Mr. Stevens of the University of Pennsylvania.

Much discussion was held on the question as to how to stimulate studies of local community problems and the follow-

¹ 3 Campbell 224.

ing resolution was adopted: "That students in the various clubs submit during the year studies of local community problems, which shall be judged by members of the advisory committee; and that publication of the best of these studies be made from time to time by the National Municipal League."

At 7 p.m. the delegates convened at the city club for the annual banquet. The toastmaster was Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League. The speakers were Professor Howard B. Woolston of the College of the City of New York, Professor Frank D. Watson of Haverford College, Francis B. Sayre of Williams College, and F. P. Gruenberg of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research. The addresses of these gentlemen were more than usually inspiring. Professor Woolston emphasized the point that in the work of reform the crusading spirit no longer availed, but that effort should be made in the direction of a painstaking presentation of the facts of government to the masses of the people. Mr. Sayre dwelt with eloquence upon the insidious and stubborn forces of greed and selfishness that were always present in any community problem. Professor Watson dwelt at length upon the conditions of poverty, but showed that, upon the whole, there were forces of progress at work, and that among these the work of volunteer service had a definite place. Mr. Gruenberg dwelt upon the work accomplished by the bureaus of municipal research in making scientific presentations of facts for the better information of all the people. The force and significance of these addresses are but very inadequately portrayed by the foregoing statements. As a fine climax to them all, Mr. Purdy told of the marked change in attitude towards public problems that had taken place in his lifetime, stating that such a convention would not have been possible, nor such views as had been presented, when he first began his public service.

It was the unanimous opinion of the men present that the meeting had been one of rare inspiration and helpfulness,

and that it promised well for the future work of the clubs.

After the meeting a portion of the delegates including the secretary took the train for Washington, where the men spent a most enjoyable day. Visits were made to the Capitol, the White House, the Pan American Building, Arlington cemetery and the Lee mansion, and to other points of interest. At the office of the secretary of war, the Hon. Newton D. Baker cordially received us and told us of his own experiences as a leader of a boys' club in a Cleveland settlement.

Your secretary can only add that in his short experience with the clubs there appear very great possibilities for our future development and usefulness.

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD.¹



The First National Conference on Community Centers, held in New York from April 19 through April 22, continues as a permanent organization with H. A. Lipsky, chairman of the Chicago school board's committee on community centers, as president. The conference was attended by delegates from 68 cities, and was the scene of debates more heated than are usual at social service congresses.

These debates, which were of practically universal significance, grew out of the following circumstances:

Community centers, while making use of school buildings and other public properties, and while promoted by public authority, are nevertheless local in character, using the initiative of adult citizens and of special groups, and subject more or less to the control of these local groups. The community center includes all phases of recreation and, in addition, many departments of social service and medicine, and no small measure of adult education.

At the conference, there was a violent clash between the prevailing conventional standpoint, according to which public school work is administered by experts from central headquarters, and the new impulse according to which the wider education of the whole public takes the

¹Secretary, Intercollegiate Division, National Municipal League.

form of local self-expression, with a strong tendency toward local home-rule and toward the development of small administrative units.

The advocates of authority and centralization were led by Sidney A. Teller, of the Chicago west park system, and Edward J. Ward, of the bureau of education at Washington. The New York delegates, followed by the majority of the conference, advocated a limited, but progressive home rule, carried out under charter grants or licenses issued to local groups by public authority. This latter standpoint was characterized by Edward J. Ward as "syndicalism" and "I. W. W. philosophy," while Ward's point of view was described by opponents as being both archaic and socialistic.

Equally heated debates grew out of the proposition, boldly laid down by speakers on the opening night of the conference, that community center work should be partially and increasingly self-supporting. James Ford, of the department of social ethics of Harvard, drew a comparison between community centers and the industrial co-operative societies of Europe, which are wholly self-supporting. Burdette G. Lewis, commissioner of corrections of New York City, declared that public taxation was wholly inadequate to meet the growing needs of community center work, while Luther H. Gulick, the presiding officer of the conference, outlined a plan for the creation of a service corporation, which would promote community centers without controlling them, and perform wholesale and standardizing services throughout the system of centers. These propositions had been reinforced in advance through a report of the committee on the financial support of community work, which contained on its membership Samuel McCune Lindsay, Clarence A. Perry, Raymond B. Fosdick, and others. This report, after pointing out the impossibility of developing a comprehensive community center work through taxation alone, stated: "The spiritual essence of the community center is the spontaneous, self-acting, free but co-operative assemblage of the people to secure advantages

which they want or can be led to want. Such responsible self-government can be developed only under conditions of fiscal responsibility, and of control over the local fiscal policy."

The above point of view caused a cleavage in the conference, which followed almost identical lines with the cleavage over the issues between central control and local autonomy. Sidney A. Teller denounced what he termed the proposed commercialization of the movement. Edward J. Ward declared that the community movement, menaced by the methods of syndicalism on one hand, was evidently being confiscated by the designs of plutocracy on the other.

The subject of free speech in school buildings received impressionistic treatment, and the proposal to establish self-supporting community clinics, which was made by Dr. Haven Emerson, New York commissioner of health, Dr. Thomas D. Wood of Columbia University, and others, was assailed bitterly by the chairman of the legislative committee of the county medical association of New York.

The conference did a volume of work, in spite of these disputes which reverberated in the newspapers. Sessions were devoted to the following subjects in addition to the ones already mentioned: Immigration; co-operative art; the delinquent child; recreation; the demands of the community center on the city plan; the administration of local centers.

In a notable speech, Charles McCarthy, of Wisconsin, called on the community centers of the whole country to co-operate in making possible the effective distribution of immigrants. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, of the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service, discussed the need for civic training through a debate of live issues which would, nevertheless, be promoted and more or less guided by public authority. Earl Barnes of Philadelphia criticized the commercial and public amusements alike as having a tendency to disserve the family and to herd the people into sex groups and age groups.

The conference organized on a permanent basis with the following officers:

President, Harry A. Lipsky, Chicago, Ill.; vice-president, Mrs. Mary Van Meter Grice, Philadelphia, Pa.; secretary, John Collier, New York City; treasurer, Miss Pauline Witherspoon, Louisville, Ky.

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A Council of Civic Forums.—The pioneers of the National Municipal League, who have labored so long and earnestly to create and promote a better civic spirit, will be interested and heartened by the development of a movement which has already proved in many communities the agency of social and civic regeneration. The "Open Forum Movement" is less than ten years old, but starting with Ford Hall in Boston under the leadership of George W. Coleman,¹ who had caught his inspiration from the Cooper Union meetings in New York, it has spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf. Those most immediately concerned find it difficult to believe their own experiences. Eight years ago a few hundred people gathered one Sunday evening in Ford Hall without anyone, including the leader, in the least realizing the tremendous significance of the occasion.

The first forum council, held in connection with the Sagamore sociological conference, brought together a few people representing a group of forums in and about Boston. The second, held last year in Ford Hall, was attended by forumites from as far away as Rochester and Buffalo. The third national open forum council, held in Buffalo on May 7, 8, and 9, was a distinctively national gathering, with delegates from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to Florida, even including a representative of a possible forum movement in Japan and China. The three days were crowded with splendid and stimulating addresses, and with a most vital interchange of experience and opinion. Delegates were present and reports received from more than one hundred forums.

Those more or less accustomed to the ordinary conventions were greatly im-

pressed with the fact that this council was tremendously in earnest and exuberantly alive. Its outstanding characteristic was its democracy. It had no bosses, and its leaders repeatedly confessed themselves humble followers of the spirit of the movement.

"Ford Hall Folks," started originally to report the Ford Hall meetings for their own constituency, has become a national forum magazine, its forum council number being an important twenty-eight page affair and running into an edition of many thousand copies. Another striking development of the movement has been the Co-operative forum bureau, with an office at 9 Myrtle St., Boston, which is working out this year the co-operative problems of more than a hundred forums, and putting at their disposal many of the most effective and vital leaders of American democracy.

The older forums have everywhere become creators of community opinion, and many of them, such as the Melrose community meetings, have become definite leaders of community action. The third council revealed the fact that the forum movement has passed the experimental stage, and while its scope and character is not wholly defined and its best leaders hope to keep it fluid for a long time to come, it is a force increasingly to be reckoned with in the discussion of the problems of our time and an increasing inspiration to all democratic spirits.

HAROLD MARSHALL.²

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Civics at the Biennial.³—The General Federation of Women's Clubs embraces organizations of all sizes, varieties and aims. To a civic-minded person the entire program seemed to have been prepared to present a utilitarian slant, so that, when the committee conferences on education and civics or home economics and public health were scheduled for the same hour, it was a question of guessing which conference would provide the most stimulating civic pabulum.

¹ Founder of the Melrose Community Meetings.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 713.

³ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 343.

A perusal of the committees organized by the federation is suggestive: Art, civics, civil service reform, conservation, education, home economics, industrial and social conditions, legislation, literature and library extension, music, public health—not one that does not include civic features. Observe that literature is now coupled with the very practical civic problem of library extension. Glance over the program of the art conference and note the report on *civic* art and over the program of the music conference and note the talks on *community* music by Mrs. Henrietta Baker Low, on *municipal* music by Mrs. Robert McArthur and music *settlements* by Arthur Farwell and David Mannes. The civic significance of the other committees is obvious.

Monday, May 29, was "civic day." In the morning at the general session, Mrs. George Zimmerman presented her printed report. Dr. Carter Helm Jones of Seattle spoke on the new civic idealism, laying stress on the inspirational appeal of civic righteousness and setting forth the value of prevention and permanence as against remedies and popularity.

Thomas Adams, town planning adviser of the Canadian commission of conservation, delivered an address on planning for civic betterment. After calling attention to the forty-two and a half millions of city residents in the United States and the trend of the present rate of increase in urban population, Mr. Adams made a plea for city planning. He said that the germinating slum must not be allowed to germinate; that housing is at the root of the city planning problem and that proper control of the development of land should go hand in hand with all housing reforms. He declared that one of the underlying causes of the Dublin riot was the abominable housing of the working people in that city. In Nova Scotia an act of prevention has been passed limiting the number of houses to twelve on an acre. The model garden cities of England have shown us that crowded slums and stultified child life are not necessities, said Mr. Adams. In his opinion the United States could undertake no more patriotic pro-

gram than to provide good homes for the incoming aliens. From love of home, love of country takes its rise and civic freedom can only develop unhampered when accompanied by civic foresight and civic virtue.

In the afternoon the civics committee held an important conference. After a talk on the value of co-operation with chambers of commerce, by John E. Lathrop, Clinton Rogers Woodruff of the National Municipal League spoke on the city efficient. Mr. Woodruff pointed out the new era of municipal theory. He called attention to the model city charter which the National Municipal League has lately issued in line with the best modern theory. The old idea, said Mr. Woodruff, was to put everything in a city charter. That plan was based on fear of the people. City charters were drawn for many years on the theory of checks and balances. The model city charter puts the power into the hands of a council of 5 to 15 men, according to the size of the city, elected on the short ballot principle. The men who have to do with policies are elected and they are responsible for securing a city manager charged with the responsibility of administering the affairs of the city. This means responsiveness as well as responsibility.

There should be a city plan, said Mr. Woodruff, and it should be put into effect. Too often a city plan is set forth in an illustrated pamphlet which is endorsed by the women's clubs, the chamber of commerce and the city council, and that is the end of the matter. That should be the beginning.

But, said Mr. Woodruff, a model charter, a city plan and a good administration will fail unless there is also the efficient co-operation of the whole community. Good government cannot be imposed on the people. It must be worked out by the people themselves.

Richard B. Watrous of the American Civic Association made a special plea that the club women write to their senators and representatives asking them to back the Newlands resolution to reconsider the unwise action authorizing the erection of

power houses within sight of the White House in Washington.

Mrs. Imogen B. Oakley of Philadelphia¹ said that she talked to a group of janitresses and scrub women and asked them what it was that they found most difficult to endure. They said that it was the noises—the useless noises, the screams of the street vendors, the hand organs, police whistles, the crowing of roosters and the barking of dogs. They did not say the trolley cars, because they are necessary. The hand organ man, said Mrs. Oakley, earned his money to stop playing and not for playing. Some cities prohibit whistles except for emergencies. London forbids all bells between 9 p.m. and 9 a.m. Mrs. Oakley concluded with the authoritative statement that every person needs quiet to keep in good health.

Much interest was aroused by the address of Cranston Brenton, chairman of the national board of review of motion pictures, perhaps, because it was evident that many of the club women did not entirely agree with him. Mr. Brenton believes that the motion picture is the greatest single potential power in the world at present. Considered by size of investment the industry has taken on enormous proportions. The order is as follows: agriculture, transportation, oil, steel and motion pictures. The national board is opposed to legalized censorship and to federal inspection. The board believes that the motion picture should have the same freedom as the pulpit, the theatre and the press.

Perhaps the most over-crowded conference of the biennial was the home economics conference held on the afternoon of May 26, where the subjects of food, shelter, the child and clothing were considered. Dr. Carl Alsberg explained the necessity for uniform food laws; Lawrence Veiller suggested ways in which women—and men—could help solve the housing problem. He laid special stress on the fact that the whole community suffered from housing evils in any part of it and said that the whole community

must co-operate to bring about better housing.

Hand in hand with good *housing* should come good *housekeeping* and this problem and its answer Miss Mabel Hydge Kirtledge, president of the association of practical housekeeping centers, presented in graphic fashion.

Miss Julia Lathrop, chief of the children's bureau, spoke of the necessity for maternity hospitals and medical attendance in the smaller towns and rural districts if we are to conserve the nation's mothers and their children.

The public health conference, held on May 30, attracted much favorable comment. Of special interest to the club women who had co-operated with the baby week campaign was the report of Mrs. Etta Goodwin, of the children's bureau, who stated that 7,000 letters had been received by the bureau from 4,600 communities. Eight hundred inquiries came from towns of less than 500 population. The campaign, said Mrs. Goodwin, had directed the attention of the whole country to the importance of conserving child life.

Mrs. Zimmerman in her report of the civics department for the biennial period of 1914-16 has followed in the footsteps of her illustrious predecessor, Miss Zona Gale. She emphasizes that most important factor in civic improvement, *continuity of effort*. A start has been made in the way of persuading school boards to introduce into the public schools training in citizenship and morals; but much remains to be done. State-wide "clean-ups" have been carried on in many states following a proclamation from the governor. The department holds membership in the American Civic Association and in the National Municipal League and has rendered "valiant assistance" to the better baby movement. "Unprecedented and widespread interest" has been shown in the problem of motion pictures. The department has assisted in compiling a set of principles as a basis of criticism to be used by censors in the selection of suitable pictures for young people.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 231.

Perhaps, on the whole, the most noticeable trend of the civic program of the biennial, in all its committees, was its humanitarianism. The federal government, the state, the city, the home, were all considered as they served to conserve human life and minister to human achievement.

HARLEAN JAMES.¹

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The Eighth National Conference on City Planning was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on June 5, 6, 7. The Cleveland chamber of commerce acted as host and entertained the delegates at luncheons, banquets and automobile trips. The attendance was the largest in the history of the conference. More than sixty cities and communities were represented by delegates. More public officials, including mayors, city engineers, and planning commissions were present, than at any previous meeting. Real estate interests were especially well represented. The prominent operators of large subdivisions in more than a dozen cities were either present in person or were represented by their engineers or architects. The large number of delegates from cities of less than 100,000 population, indicates how the interest of city planning is spreading.

The meeting was distinctly a conference on the practical questions involved in city planning. Talk and generalities about the city beautiful were notably absent. How to build and rebuild cities so as to make them convenient and comfortable was the dominant note in the several sessions. The discussions following the papers and addresses showed that delegates were seeking practical suggestions which could be applied to the solution of their own local problems.

The leading subjects for discussion were, planning of subdivisions, districting by private effort and by municipal regulations, regulating building heights, street systems and transit problems, traffic regulations, and park system and recreation grounds.

The first luncheon meeting was given over to three minute speeches by delegates

¹ Secretary, Baltimore Women's Civic League.

from all sections of this country and Canada. One session was devoted to Cleveland's needs and achievements, discussed by experts from other cities. One luncheon given by the chamber of commerce, and attended largely by business men, was addressed by Thomas Adams of Toronto, Canada.

Frederick Law Olmsted was re-elected chairman, and Flavel Shurtleff of Boston, secretary.

MAYO FESLER.

✱

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.—Detroit is the latest city to adopt the municipal research idea as a means to improving the character of its municipal government. The Detroit bureau was incorporated March 22, and began work April 15 with offices at 100 Griswold St. In addition to municipal work, the incorporators have included the county and state within the field of the new organization. The new bureau is amply supplied with funds which have been raised by private subscription, and the work has been undertaken for an initial period of three years. Freedom from partisan politics is assured by the fact that any trustee who holds office or becomes a candidate for public office or accepts any public employment shall automatically dissolve his connection with the institution.

It is also expected that the bureau will afford a large field of training for public service as arrangements have been made with the University of Michigan by which graduate students in political science wishing to obtain degrees in public service courses will be required to spend a minimum of three months with the bureau. It is likely that this period of apprenticeship will be increased to one year in the immediate future.

The director is L. D. Upson, formerly director of the Dayton bureau and lately executive secretary of the National cash register company.

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Municipal Publications.¹—The increase in the number of municipal publications

² See vol. iv, p. 320.

continues apace. Those issued by the cities represent a very healthy development, indicating a willingness on the part of city officials to give an accounting of their stewardship. The latest city to join the ranks is that of Asheville, N. C., which now issues a very attractive *Municipal Bulletin*. It is sent free to all taxpayers in the city.

The *Toledo City Journal* is another municipal publication published by the commission on publicity and efficiency provided for in the new Toledo charter. Columbus also provides for an official publication in its new charter.

Minnesota Municipalities is a bi-monthly devoted to municipal progress in that state, published by the League of Minnesota Municipalities. G. A. Gesell is the editor. The initial numbers are filled with interesting and suggestive matters.

Washington Municipalities represents a somewhat more ambitious undertaking, being much bulkier and containing much longer and more serious articles. It is the official organ of the League of Washington Municipalities and is edited by Dr. H. A. Brauer, the municipal reference librarian of the University of Washington.

The Public Servant is the title of the official organ of the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service. Dr. E. A. Fitzpatrick, the secretary of the organization, is likewise editor of the organ. It is a sprightly and informing publication.

The Brooklyn Civic League is the latest local voluntary organization to issue a bulletin. Volume I, number 1, appeared under date of May 1916 under the auspices of the executive and civic secretaries. While most of the news is of local interest, it is got out in such a form as to be interesting to outside readers.

Civic Affairs is the title of a monthly bulletin to be published by the Civic League of Cleveland. The first issue is devoted largely to city manager government, containing an address on the principle by Professor A. R. Hatton, and on the practice by Henry M. Waite of Dayton.

An Emigrant Relief Fund and the Cy Press Doctrine.—A million dollar trust fund established 64 years ago for the benefit of the stream of emigrants going through St. Louis to the West has just been applied to a new use by an act of the St. Louis municipal assembly creating a Travelers' aid bureau at Union station. This fund, known for years throughout the middle west as the Mullanphy emigrant relief fund, was created in 1851 by Bryan Mullanphy, former mayor of St. Louis, as a trust fund administered by 13 unpaid commissioners appointed by the city council. The fund was restricted to the aid of "poor emigrants and travelers coming to St. Louis on their way bona fide to settle in the west." Under it \$250,000, the income, has been spent in aiding travelers. In recent years the amount spent annually for the purpose has dwindled to \$2,000 or less because of the restrictive clause in the will which has made the fund inoperative since the stream of settlers stopped.

The new use is well within a literal construction of the will although its spirit is somewhat different. The travelers' aid bureau at the union station will seek to meet all incoming travelers and immigrants, whether on their way to the west or not. It will directly aid those on their way to the west as before and will offer much needed aid, such as advice and reference to other agencies, to those who are to remain in the city. Under the new charter, the board has been reduced to three unpaid commissioners appointed by the mayor. It is the intention of the commissioners to spend most of the \$40,000 a year income in social services intended by the founder rather than as in recent years to devote it to improvements in the fund's tenement property.

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Baldwin Prize Competition.¹—Thirteen essays were submitted for the 1916 William H. Baldwin prize on "Efficient Billboard Regulation." The prize was awarded to Miss Bernice Brown, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass. Honorable mention

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 169.

was made of the essay submitted by Phillips Bradley, Lincoln, Mass.

Three essays were submitted from the University of Cincinnati; two from Harvard; two from the University of Texas; one from Radcliffe College; one from the University of Pennsylvania; one from the University of California; one from the University of Southern California; one from Adelbert College; one did not give his college.

The judges were Albert S. Bard, of the New York bar, member of the late Mayor Gaynor's commission on billboard regulation, Frank B. Williams, of New York, lecturer and expert on certain phases of city planning and Prof. James Sturgis Pray, School of Landscape Architecture, Harvard University.

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A Princeton Survey has been undertaken with Arthur Evans Wood, formerly of Reed College, Portland, Oregon, now a Harrison fellow at the University of Pennsylvania, in charge.

✱

Loring Day.—Minneapolis has established April 28 as Loring Day in honor of Charles M. Loring (a member of the National Municipal League), who is the founder of the Minneapolis park. On this day the school children and all other citizens for that matter are urged to plant trees, special services being held in the schools for that purpose.

✱

Mayor James R. Hanna, after six years of service in the Des Moines commission, has retired. John MacVicar, formerly a mayor under the old regime and also a member of one of the earlier commissions, has succeeded him. Mr. Hanna is a candidate for lieutenant governor of Iowa.

✱

Harland Bartholomew, who has been secretary and engineer of the Newark city plan commission, is now in charge of the work of the Citizens' city plan committee of St. Louis.

✱

Edward W. Bemis, who was recently dropped by the mayor of Chicago as an expert for the board of street railway

engineers, has been employed by the Chicago council committee on gas, oil and electric light in its investigation of the gas company prefatory to fixing new gas rates in August. Evidently the Chicago council does not agree with the mayor in his estimate of Dr. Bemis's ability.

✱

Stiles P. Jones, formerly secretary of the Voters' league of Minneapolis, has been appointed executive secretary of the Central franchise committee of Minneapolis, a co-operative citizens agency acting in the public interest, to aid in securing a fair settlement of the Minneapolis street railway franchise problem.

✱

C. G. Morrison has resigned as secretary of the Seattle municipal league and has been succeeded by George B. Littlefield. In commenting on the change, the *Seattle Municipal News* says: "The league since its inception has been fortunate in the men who have represented it officially, but in none more so than its secretaries. Mr. Morrison, who succeeded Clancy M. Lewis, and was the first to give the league full time, retires knowing that the league is free from debt despite the deficit that existed when he took charge and the increased budget that his incumbency entailed, and that the membership has been increased. The *Municipal News* is on a firmer basis than ever before. The bureau of municipal research, though still a consummation of the future, represents constructive effort. Mr. Morrison retires with the good will of the officers and members."

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Evans Clark of Princeton University has been elected director of the bureau of information established by the New Jersey League of Municipalities. It will be located in and operated under the direction of the Princeton University library.

✱

C. E. Rightor has been elected director of the Dayton bureau of municipal research.

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Miss Alice M. Holden, who has been assistant to Professor William Bennett

Munro of Harvard University, has been appointed to the staff of Vassar College, her duties to begin next September. She will organize and conduct the work in municipal government in that institution. Hitherto no independent instruction in this subject has been given at Vassar. It is a hopeful sign of the times that Vassar is taking up this field of work, and also that they have been able to secure a competent woman to handle it.

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Frank J. Symmes, for many years a member of the advisory committee and a member of the council of the National Municipal League from 1905 to 1912, died

March 14 1916. Mr. Symmes, as president of the Merchants association of San Francisco, later merged in the Chamber of commerce, in the formation of which he took an active part, was an active civic force in San Francisco. Of a conservative type of mind, he was always friendly to new suggestions and always insisted that the interests of the community should be regarded as paramount.

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Eugenius H. Outerbridge, for a number of years a member of the council of the National Municipal League and a contributor to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, has been elected president of the Chamber of Commerce of New York.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

THE LAW AND THE PRACTICE OF MUNICIPAL HOME RULE. By Howard Lee McBain. New York: Columbia University Press. 1916.

This book should have a cordial welcome. The constitutional right of a city to govern itself has been a theme of fluent discourse for more than forty years in this country, and it is high time that someone should take the pains to tell us what it really means. Professor McBain has done this in a volume which for comprehensiveness of research, accuracy of statement, sound reasoning and general good-workmanship is a credit to the institution which he serves and to American philosophical scholarship. He has indeed raised a standard to which the wise and honest may repair.

The term municipal home rule, as used in current political discussion, covers a wide range of appealing generalities. To the friends of good government it is a watchword for use in guarding the city's interests against the schemes of wily state politicians; on the other hand the spoils-men have invoked its aid with equal ardor against the march of civil service reform. Everyone professes to believe in home rule as a principle, but not one in ten among those who employ the term so glibly at the forum or on the hustings have any fair notion of its proper scope, its meaning, and least of all, its necessary limitations. Home rule is not merely a matter of principle; it is a question of settling many practical details and solving many difficult problems.

Professor McBain has rightly begun his narrative, therefore, with a definition of what municipal home rule expresses and implies. It is not the right of a city to be a miniature republic, wholly free from all higher control and supervision, to be a law

unto itself in matters of taxation, indebtedness, and the maintenance of public order. The right of a city to borrow its way into bankruptcy, for example, is not a self-evident right. Higher control there must be to some extent; the whole question is as to how far this control should extend, and that is a question presenting a host of knotty problems which no one can solve by waving them aside.

Municipal home rule, in its proper sense, means the constitutional right of cities to frame and adopt their own charters subject to the supremacy of the state laws in what may be compendiously called "matters of general concern." But what are matters of general concern, and what are the things in which local autonomy should be unrestricted? That is the question to which Professor McBain devotes the greater part of his book. Twelve states have adopted the home rule charter system. In each of them a body of jurisprudence relating to the respective areas of state and local control has been evolved. It has been the author's task to go through this entire body of public law with infinite care and patience, subjecting every bit of it to a critical review and scrutiny. Only by so doing, if at all, could anyone hope to discover just what the law is and what the practice has been.

Speaking broadly, the eighteen chapters of the book fall into three unequal divisions. First, there is a discussion of the basis and scope of legislative control over cities, with a summary of the attempts which were made during the latter half of the nineteenth century, notably in the states of the middle west, to prohibit special legislation. Then follows, chapter by chapter, a critical analysis of home rule procedure, practice, and limitations in Missouri, California, Washington, Minn-

esota, Colorado, Oklahoma, Arizona, Oregon, Michigan, Ohio, Nebraska, and Texas. The most illuminating experience has been that of California, to which five chapters, including in all nearly one hundred pages, are devoted. Finally, there is a cogent summary of conclusions in which the author, with a masterly grasp of his subject, spreads the whole panorama before his readers.

Seven hundred pages devoted to the special subject of municipal home rule may seem to betray a distorted sense of proportion. But every page is to the point; there is no incorporation of irrelevant matter, no prosy sermonizing, and no wasting of words. It is merely that the author has ventured to wrestle fairly with complicated questions which others have either blithely ignored or willfully evaded. To get to the bottom of this subject has been no tyro's job, and the pages of this book contain the patient labor of years. From cover to cover it bears the impress of a steady hand and sound judgment. The author has finished a task which will not have to be done again in our generation.

In a day when so much shoddy stuff is being hurled into print upon the subject of how the American city ought to conduct its business, some of it by men who have made no conspicuous success in managing their own, this serious and unphilfered discussion of a basic question is doubly welcome. We have had far too much hawking of platitudes by writers on the subject of municipal government. The temptation thereto has been great, no doubt, because almost anything which relates to this wide field of interest can nowadays find a publisher and a market. Not least among Professor McBain's services to the cause is that of pointing the way to higher standards of municipal research and writing.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

Harvard University.

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PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION. By William Bennett Munro. New York: The Macmillan Company.

It is a well known fact that the members of many of the professions and quasi-

professions regard their respective fields of learning as something in the nature of occult sciences, wholly removed from the possibility of comprehension or appreciation by the uninitiated layman. It is also a well known fact that, although most of the activities of cities are technical in character and require therefore the services of professionals, the link between the people and these technical experts of the occult is the elected or appointed politician—an uninitiated layman. Couple these two facts, and you have before you the essence of the problem of municipal democracy. How can the technical services of a city be satisfactorily conducted under the generalship of an uncomprehending layman?

It would be absurd to offer a rule of thumb in answer to this exceedingly complicated question. It would seem, nevertheless, that we are certainly moving in the right direction when we lay ax to the root of the problem by rejecting its fundamental assumption. In point of fact, there is nothing inherently occult in most of the professions. An intelligent layman does not have to qualify for the bar in order to read a statute or a judicial opinion with fair understanding. Neither does he have to hold an engineering degree before he can comprehend the more fundamental and general problems of highway construction or sewage disposal. The serious student of modern government and the serious layman administrator is compelled to break at least into the barred vestibule of the technician in spite of the loud protests of the professionals. He finds that a "little learning" is not only a salutary but also an indispensable thing. His intelligence saves him from the classic warning of "danger." He does not, by reason of his dippings, conceive himself to be a trained attorney, engineer, accountant, or other expert. Nor does he acquire the notion that the highly trained can be dispensed with.

Professor Munro has in this book surveyed the field of municipal administration descriptively, with the end in view of joining the technical to the legal and political. This was no simple task.

For the student of general municipal government, whether in or out of college, it was a task that was crying for adequate performance. The author has produced a truly notable book. He has shown excellent judgment in realizing how far he should carry his discussions of the purely technical. If he has erred at all along this line, it has been in not going far enough. He shows a wide acquaintance with the important technical literature of the various branches of his subject—literature which many of us, cowed by the disdainful attitude of the professionals, have been surprised to find ourselves capable of understanding. Every chapter of his book is informative, interesting, and, as might be expected from his pen, readable.

Following an introductory chapter, which deals in an illuminating way with the relation of the citizen to the government and with some of the general problems of administrative organization (and which incidentally takes a deserved and needed rap at our growing blind respect for and reliance upon the so-called "expert" in municipal affairs), there are chapters on city planning, streets, water supply, waste disposal and sewerage, public lighting, police administration, fire prevention and fire protection, school administration, and finance. Under each of these topics are discussed the problems of administrative organization, the purposes and methods of performance, as well as many of the important aspects of the broad technical problems involved. There are brief historical résumés of much interest and numerous comparisons of American with European conditions.

The book does not purport to be all-comprehensive. It includes only a "substantial part of the entire field" of city administration. There is, for example, either no discussion at all or only brief reference to such subjects as the control of privately owned public utilities, the work of health departments proper, the administration of charities, police courts, correctional institutions, markets, and civil service as such. But obviously, as the author observes, the "subject is a

large one." Indeed there would seem to be almost room for a companion volume dealing with the subjects that are omitted from this. With apologies for the suggestion, may it not be hoped that Professor Munro will himself supply such a volume?

No book lends itself to captious criticism more readily than one which deals in survey fashion with a subject of almost limitless dimensions. Considering, however, the manifest limitations that circumscribed the author, there is in fact little if anything in this volume that merits honest criticism. Its general usefulness, as well as readableness, is doubtless enhanced rather than impaired by the fact that the author has not attempted to be encyclopedic—which does not mean that the book is not meaty with facts. Perhaps Boston and New York are over-mentioned. But where a subject cannot be exhausted, the citation of concrete examples is manifestly desirable; and there is no great fault in relying chiefly upon a few rather than upon many cities for illustration—which, again, does not mean that other cities are not frequently mentioned.

It is probably fair to say that this book is the most noteworthy contribution to the general literature of municipal government that has appeared in many a year. It has out-Munroed Munro.

HOWARD LEE MCBAIN.

Columbia University.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE CITY MANAGERS ASSOCIATION. Second Convention, November, 1915. Copies obtainable at 15 cents each from the Secretary, O. E. Carr, City Manager of Niagara Falls, New York.

The city managers met at Dayton, Nov. 15-17, 1915, and they have just published the full stenographic report of all they said and resolved in a well-printed pamphlet of 144 pages. At the first convention (in 1914) there were eight managers in attendance and the published proceedings contained considerable hot air; this time there were seventeen present and the proceedings are full of brass tacks. This

latter volume is ideal propaganda material for the commission-manager movement. It is packed with the concrete evidences of the successes of the managers and colored with their high purpose. The limp aimlessness of discussion in a typical mayors' conference is replaced by an earnest spirit of "Tell me just how you did it so I can do it, too." There was genuine interchange of ideas and experiences, and the discussions were much more technical than the year before.

The written papers comprise a somewhat midnight-oily essay on the history of municipal government by Manager Hardin of Amarillo; an entertaining review of the experiences of Dayton's purchasing agent; a lecture on municipal cost data, by Manager Mitchell of Sherman, Texas; another on budget making by Manager Cummin of Jackson, Mich.; discussions of local municipal publicity and relations to citizens by Ashburner of Springfield, O., and Waite of Dayton, indicating keen appreciation of the fact that the city manager's job not only involves the manufacture of good government, but selling it to the citizenship. The most interesting session was that at which the managers were called up in alphabetical order to tell what progress each had achieved during the past year. This brought out a most impressive array of lowered tax rates, reduced debts, improved unit costs and modernized methods.

Glittering generalities, oratory and fol-de-rol were conspicuously absent. The "address of welcome" was over with in two sentences. When the new president of the association was ushered into the chair he disposed of his address by curtly proceeding to the next item of business.

This is the time to offer one important criticism of the meeting, *i.e.*, that the papers were almost exclusively by managers. This practice has the distinguished precedent of the governors' conference, but it is a narrow and stupid precedent for either body. The managers can readily command the services of every eminent specialist in the municipal field, for their receptivity, their power to put a reform into operation and the fact that they are so

worthwhile educating, as compared with the old transient amateur executives, all combine to make them an ideal audience for the man with an advanced message. The papers the managers read to each other were technically sound and had the obvious advantage of being presented by men of the same practical standing as their audience, but the sessions will be more valuable when the managers go freely outside their own restricted ranks and summon the original authorities before them, to present their doctrines, subject to the keen questioning that always is sure to follow when the pioneer, the tested theorist and the expert meet practitioners. Contrariwise, the efforts of a practical manager of a small town to sketch out a technical theory may sometimes cause unexpected smiles.

Doubtless such things will come along in due course. The managers have missed few tricks so far. They are aware of their opportunities. They see clearly the new profession. They have found out how much more fun it is to work for public than for private corporations. Their discussions reveal an admirable tolerance.

The commission-manager movement is in good hands.

RICHARD S. CHILDS.

New York City.



REGULATION OF RAILROADS AND PUBLIC UTILITIES IN WISCONSIN. By Fred L. Holmes. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

The importance of this book to those who are seriously trying to reach conclusions on various mooted points in the problem of public control of public utilities can hardly be overestimated. So far as the writer knows, this is the first comprehensive attempt to analyze and summarize the entire work of a state public service commission. In order to have important national significance, such an attempt would necessarily be confined to a choice among the commissions of four states, namely, Massachusetts, New York, Wisconsin and California. The history of the Massachusetts commissions would be

interesting and instructive, but while covering a long period, it would be a period of divided responsibility and of incomplete and mainly advisory rather than complete and mandatory regulation. The New York commissions, created contemporaneously with the extension of the Wisconsin commission's jurisdiction to public utilities, would also yield interesting and instructive experience. But they have been greatly hampered by the ruthless interference of unintelligent partisan politics, by judicial obstructions, by the limitation of their jurisdiction to certain classes of utilities, by the absence of a constructive program in the law itself, and, in the New York City district, by the diversion of effort to the overwhelming problems of rapid transit construction which are foreign to, and almost inconsistent with, the true functions of a regulatory commission. While Commissioner Maltbie and Chairman Stevens did notable individual work on the New York commissions in advancing the theory and practice of public utility regulation, the history of the New York commissions, either or both, would not furnish a fair and satisfying test of the commission movement. California is very promising in many respects, but its experience is still too short and the jurisdiction of the state commission, at least until very recently, has been too restricted to make the story of state regulation in California up to this time conclusive.

For many reasons, the Wisconsin commission and its works are more truly representative of the movement and furnish more reliable guidance as to the probable future of state regulation than is the case with any other similar body. Here are some of the reasons:

1. The Wisconsin commission, since 1907, has had jurisdiction over all the important utilities, including utilities owned and operated by cities.

2. In Wisconsin, thanks to a reservation of power in the constitution, all perpetual and limited term franchises have been wiped off the slate, and the indeterminate permit, with full powers of municipal purchase and operation, has been substituted.

3. The Wisconsin commission fixes *absolute*, not merely *maximum* rates.

4. The Wisconsin law makes it mandatory upon the commission to find the fair value of all the public utilities within the state.

5. The courts in Wisconsin have rather cordially upheld the commission, and particularly have held that the commission, representing the police power of the state, is not bound by the terms and conditions imposed by a municipality in granting a franchise, but may override them and set them aside. This may involve increases as well as decreases in rates formerly established by franchise contract.

6. The Wisconsin commission has been manned from the beginning by men who, for the most part, have been in sympathy with the experiment they were making.

In dealing with the complex and highly technical subject of his book Mr. Holmes has had the benefit of a close observation of the workings of the Wisconsin railroad commission since its organization in 1905, two years before it was given general control of local utilities. As a member of the legislature and chairman of the assembly committee on transportation, he has certainly had opportunities of contact which are quite unusual for careful writers on such a subject as this. To his task he has brought a clear style, a comprehending mind and painstaking thoroughness.

Mr. Holmes is frankly sympathetic with the idea of state regulation and with the methods formulated and hitherto followed by the Wisconsin commission; nevertheless, his book shows no trace of blind partisanship. It is a dispassionate review and defense of the Wisconsin Idea as applied to public utilities. It puts the critics of Wisconsin theories on their mettle.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

New York City.

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THE PORT OF BOSTON. By Edwin J. Clapp, Ph.D. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$2.50.

Professor Clapp's book is a careful and painstaking study and analysis of traffic

conditions at the port of Boston. The work is not confined to Boston alone but deals in general with the traffic situation in the north Atlantic seaports. There is scarcely anything more complicated and difficult of understanding by the layman than railroad tariffs, and it is only those who come daily in contact with them and use them that are able to speak with authority on the subject; Professor Clapp's book being a careful statement of railroad tariffs, their origin and their successive stages of development is of great value and use to the student of port development and economics in general.

That portion of the book which discusses railroad rates at Boston considered the existing conditions at the time the book was written, but of course, railroad rates are continually changing under the rulings of the Interstate commerce commission, and the tariffs which existed when this book was prepared possibly do not exist even now, but that does not materially detract from the value of this study.

While this book treats primarily of the tariff situation in Boston it may well be read and studied to the great advantage of those interested in other ports and other cities. The general principles which form the basis of the railroad rate structures are brought out and described as they relate to Boston and as they relate to transportation at other points.

The book discusses the general terminal problem, the relation of the port to the hinterland, the relation of the port to the railroads and to the industries dependent on it for raw materials and for the distribution of finished products. Switching charges, switching arrangements, the belt lines, elevator and other port charges are dealt with in detail as they refer to Boston and as they refer to New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other ports.

The evolution of the zone system of railroad rates from 1877 to date, as described in this book, shows the changes through which the railroad rate structure has passed, and the study of this part of the book in particular is well worth while as it is probably as complete and concise

as anything which has been written on the subject.

Much detail is devoted to the situation at Boston, to its physical layout, to its business arrangements, to its advantages and disadvantages and various suggestions and recommendations for the abolition of the railroad "differential" which operates against Boston and for the encouragement of particular kinds of traffic is stated in a most interesting manner.

A strong argument is made of the desirability of exploiting Boston's advantages throughout the middle west and the west, and European ports and canal ports are cited as instances of what can be accomplished by judicious and intelligent advertising.

The latter portion of the book deals in general with the terminal operation in Boston and with the general principles which apply to the organization of what would be an ideal port. The value of industrial development is referred to and plans are shown for the reorganization of the Boston port facilities and the advantages to be gotten by better switching arrangements and belt lines and an extension of the lighterage service.

Professor Clapp reaches certain conclusions as to the operating difficulties in various ports and his recommendations to the port directors of Boston conclude this interesting work. Some of the conclusions which Professor Clapp arrives at seem scarcely justified, but perhaps these are matters of opinion. There are many plans and maps showing local conditions at Boston and picturing ideal terminal arrangements applicable to almost any port.

The conclusion of the reviewer after a careful study of the book is that it is primarily the most comprehensive elucidation of the structure and development of the railroad tariffs in the eastern United States that he has seen and as a general treatise on the relation of railroad rates to seaports the book is worthy of most careful study.

B. F. CRESSON, JR.

Jersey City, N. J.

ENGLISH PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION. By B. G. Bannington. London: P. S. King & son. 7s. 6d. net.

A comprehensive survey of public health administration in England, which at the same time shows many of the relationships between health and other governmental administrative units, is presented in this book.

After a general and an historical introduction the author considers sources of power and legislative procedure. He then goes into administrative organization. The two chief executives, the medical officer of health and the chief inspector of nuisances, are considered, as well as other members of the executive staff. Various branches of health work are then outlined, always from the side of administrative procedure rather than of technique. There are chapters on nuisances, foods, infectious diseases, hospitals, tuberculosis, records, town planning, sanitary services and finances. Two chapters dealing with central control are of more general interest this side of the water than some of the other parts of the book. After discussing voluntary health agencies the volume closes with a chapter on needed reforms.

In view of the agitation in this country for a federal department of health headed by a cabinet officer, it is interesting to note that Mr. Bannington is not at all convinced of the necessity of "a responsible minister of cabinet rank" in charge of health in England. One of his reasons for this is the overlapping of health and cleansing or sanitary work, both of which, together with many other matters of local administration, are now controlled to a considerable degree by that "phantom" body which never meets, the Local Government Board.

What the author does plead for in the way of national assistance in health work is "grants in aid," or the payment by the general government of a part of the expense of local health work. The power to give or withhold such grants is a more efficient means of control, the author thinks, than any more direct means of coercion that can be applied. Finally, in accord-

ance with good old British tradition, the author urges a broad public health survey as a means of determining present conditions and future needs and how to meet both.

The book has an appeal to all close students of local administration and of central administrative control as well. It contains many suggestions for those, if such there be, who have a free hand in framing local health administrative measures, but any wise man would of course go slow in attempting to fit British practice to conditions in the United States.

M. N. BAKER.¹



CITY PLANNING. A series of papers by various authors edited by John Nolen. New York: D. Appleton & Co. (National Municipal League Series.) \$2.00.

The National Municipal League has in this work added another most convenient and useful little volume to its series of works on municipal affairs; and John Nolen as editor of this volume, in bringing together the statements of so many important men concerning some of the most vital aspects of the great field of city planning, as well as in his own interesting contributions, has rendered a valuable service to the cause of a more general popular understanding of certain of the practical aims and certain of the more important of the varied problems of city planning in this country, and has also been instrumental in supplying a very handy and readable book, of interest to all who are concerned in more technical ways with improving the conditions in American cities through more rational organization of their plans. The general reliability of the text is assured by the standing of the contributors—a marked group of men—and by the significant fact that Frederick Law Olmsted has read and criticized all of the manuscript. Mr. Olmsted has also written the introduction, which in its broad handling yet vital grasp of the general field of city planning

¹ Vice-president, New Jersey state department of health.

with special references to the conditions now obtaining in our American cities, and in its clear organization and placing of emphasis, will go down as a classic brief account of city planning in America to-day as it appears to the leading figure in it.

Among many other quotable and deeply significant passages in this introduction may be cited the following:

"The commonsense application of the city-planning ideal may be phrased thus: whether they like it or not, whether they know it or not, a collective responsibility rests upon citizens of the present generation for making or marring their city's future in countless ways. It is utterly beyond their power, or that of their agents, to discharge that responsibility with complete knowledge or infallible wisdom; but it is reasonable that they should use a moderate amount of their collective energy and wealth in a deliberate and conscientious effort to meet the responsibility as well as the available means permit."

The book is not, and does not purport to be, despite its misleading sub-title, "A series of papers presenting the essential elements of a City Plan," a comprehensive work, or to include all the important or essential elements of the plan. Thus Mr. Olmsted in his introduction points out.

"But, from the very nature of cities, there are certain classes of problems which confront them all, and certain common lines of investigation, planning, and control which are especially apt to be worth while. In the following chapters of this book *some* of the most important of these lines are discussed from varying points of view. The reader must draw from them a suggestion of how the same points of view and methods of thought might be applied to *other* aspects of the many-sided problem—aspects which might well be more important in a given city than those which are here discussed, since it is clearly impossible in a book of this compass to deal with more than a limited selection of the more important problems of frequent recurrence."

Among the lines some readers will wish might have been further developed, are the larger aspects of public health, the effects of topography, and the opportunities and obligations for securing the maximum of civic beauty, to the last of which

there are strikingly few references in the text except in the introduction which ends with a statement of the fact, impossible to emphasize too often, that "Regard for beauty must neither follow after regard for the practical ends to be obtained nor precede it, but must inseparably accompany it."

The chapters include after the introduction, "the subdivision of land," by John Nolen, in which after dividing land subdivision broadly into three main classes, namely, for industrial use, for retail and wholesale business, and for residential purposes, the chapter concerns itself chiefly with the subdivision of residential property, and includes interesting and useful tables of lot sizes in different American cities; "public control of private real estate," by Frank Backus Williams, in which the condemnation of land for public purposes and the maintenance of restrictions in the public interest upon the private ownership and use of land are both dealt with in Mr. Williams' characteristically clear and illuminating fashion; "local and minor streets," by Edward H. Bouton, in which the writer emphasizes the distinction between the functions of purely local streets and those of through streets, and the importance of determining in each case both the character and the volume of the traffic which the local street is likely to be called upon to carry, and, while advocating planning of local streets for stability rather than convertibility, points out the need in certain cases of providing for the latter; "public buildings and quasi-public buildings," by Edward H. Bennett, in which the careful location and grouping of public buildings, the provision of ample and attractive surrounding grounds, rather than the design of the buildings themselves, is taken up; "neighborhood centers," by Arthur C. Comey, in which the values, both social and economic, of centralizing certain social activities of a local neighborhood, the importance of associating certain interests with, and dissociating others from, such centers, as well as the desirable locations of different types of such centers, and the social facilities which they should offer,

are discussed; "general recreation facilities," by J. Horace McFarland, in which after setting forth the economic values and gains for public morality which come with adequate facilities for public recreation, the writer discusses various special forms of recreation for which the city should provide, the extent to which it should provide them, and something of the ways in which they have been provided by different cities; "park systems," by John Nolen, in which lands taken for park purposes are given working classification, their distribution considered in relation to the city plan as a whole, and special consideration given to the methods of payment for park lands; "water supply and the city plan," by Caleb Mills Saville, in which are particularly set forth, the obligations of utilizing in connection with water-supply plants opportunities for landscape beauty and facilities for public recreation; "non-navigable waters," by Arthur A. Shurtleff, one of the most important contributions to date in its special field, in which the general problem of reclaiming for health, recreation, and beauty the waters and shores of non-navigable streams in cities is handled in the light of the writer's experience and personal familiarity with certain very notable cases of reclamation in the Boston metropolitan district, and in which he treats the problems presented by different types of shore, and discusses the utilization of the banks for parks and playgrounds; "navigable waters," by E. P. Goodrich, a most interesting chapter in which the three-fold problem of the navigable waterway itself, the so-called "hinterland" served by the waterway, and the intermediate or "marginal strip" are respectively considered, and the ways in which they may be most efficiently organized for use in the general city economy; "railroads and industrial districts," by George R. Wadsworth, in which the difficulties of securing an efficient city plan with the usual obstructing railroad rights-of-way are recognized, and the far-reaching importance of a close functional relation between industrial districts and rail and water terminals is emphasized; "transportation and

main thoroughfares and street railways," by Benjamin A. Haldeman, in which the lack of team play between the community and the street-railway company, the fundamental and permanent importance of the street railway as the people's chief mode of transportation in the city, and the advantage of a well integrated radial scheme of main thoroughfares are discussed; "the effect of rapid transit on the city plan," by John Vipond Davies, in which the effects of increased facilities for rapid transit upon the development of city extensions are shown, a table of costs per mile for different types of construction for rapid transit service is included, and the different types discussed, and the radial plan is advocated from the point of view of rapid transit; "residential and industrial decentralization," by James Ford, a clear interesting statement of the advantages of the cottage home over the tenement home that has developed in the modern city, and of the factors in the two-fold problem of industrial and residential decentralization as a joint means of substituting the cottage home for the tenement; "fundamental data for city planning work," by George Burdett Ford, the leading American expert in this vital aspect of city planning, in which data for both remedial and preventive planning are considered, and the importance set forth of collecting data under various special heads included under the following six divisions: (a) geography and climate, (b) topography and hydrographic characteristics, (c) demographic features of the problem, (d) history of the city's development, (e) legal and administrative conditions, (f) financial status of the city; "city financing and city planning," by Flavel Shurtleff, a most interesting brief statement of the difficulties usually standing in the way of successfully financing projects for municipal improvement, and a brief discussion of the different financial methods commonly employed, including a useful short table of the borrowing capacity established for certain American cities; "city planning legislation," by Charles Mulford Robinson, in which the writer deals particularly with the

legislation establishing and empowering city-planning commissions, and states what legislation has been secured to these ends in different states, a subject on which the writer is the more qualified to speak because of the large number of American communities which have employed him as civic adviser; and finally a general bibliography at the end of the work (in addition to the special bibliography at the end of each chapter), and an effective index.

Made up as the work is of these chapters by different men on different aspects of the general field, it is hardly to be expected to have, and it has not, much unity, or indeed any very logical arrangement, and while the general standard set is unusually high, the quality of the different chapters necessarily varies, and certain ones will prove of much more permanent value than others. Nevertheless, the volume contains a great deal of permanent value, and is to be welcomed as a very useful addition to the growing literature of city planning.

The book is freely illustrated, and the illustrations all are chosen specifically to illustrate points made by the authors. The general book making, which is that of all in the National Municipal League Series, is most admirable.

JAMES STURGIS PRAY.

Harvard University.



CITY PLANNING, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PLANNING OF STREETS AND LOTS. By Charles Mulford Robinson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

To the reviewer it seems at least unfortunate that a book using as its main title the phrase "city planning" should be issued almost coincidentally with the work in the National Municipal League's series having the same title, and to which the author of the book in question had contributed an important chapter. The misfortune is hardly mitigated by the qualifying phrase found on the title-page of Mr. Robinson's book, to the effect that it is "A re-issue, revised, with much ad-

ditional material, of the work originally published under the title of 'The Width and Arrangement of Streets.'" Nor does the examination of the contents of the volume lessen the feeling of regret at the duplication of title in two publications appearing almost simultaneously, for it appears that Mr. Robinson has discussed city planning "with special reference to the planning of streets and lots," to use the words of the sub-title, and has not attempted to cover adequately those phases of community making which deal with the life of the people rather than with their immediate physical environment.

Mr. Robinson's book is, then, actually a treatise on street-planning and land subdivision, and as such is to be considered. The author's eminence as a graceful writer upon civic topics, and his practice as a municipal consultant and a civic teacher, give reason to expect in this volume much matter of value, well presented, and the expectation is fully met.

Three general heads are included in the contents: "Standardization in street platting," "functional street platting," and "city planning legislation." In the first section the origin of the defects of checker-board, gridiron or standardized street platting is interestingly set forth and discussed, with illuminative quotations and illustrations. The social relations of street designs find expression in an important chapter.

The section that handles the true functions of a street is broadly comprehensive, and includes the study of land subdivision to a considerable extent. To the writer, especially interested in any action of city planning that will give decent attention to the home surroundings and street approaches appertaining to wage-earners, the chapters on the platting of minor streets and of lots "for humble homes" particularly appeal. Appropriately, there follows a chapter on "public reservations other than the streets," which deals briefly with park and playground needs, and the like.

But it is apart from the present purpose to present a résumé of Mr. Robinson's book. It is sufficient to say that it is, including the old material and the new,

an admirable discussion of the subjects of street platting and land subdivision, with copious citations from other writers, and with many illustrations that illustrate. Considered apart from its misleading main title, it may properly be said to be a necessity for the constructive citizen as well as the capable official; for the one who, in real estate ownership, has much to do with streets and lots, needs a knowledge of what is best to do no less than does the man who is officially to do it.

Mr. Robinson's style is always delightful, and this quality makes greatly for the larger usefulness of a book that will undoubtedly be accepted as a standard in relation to certain very important portions of the broad problem of modern city planning.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

Harrisburg, Pa.



TRANSACTIONS OF CONFERENCE ON TOWN PLANNING AND HOUSING, LIVERPOOL, 1914. Edited by S. D. Adshead and Patrick Abercrombie. Liverpool: The University Press.

Anyone interested in housing and town planning in Great Britain and desirous of becoming familiar with the views of those who have been associated with practical experiments in that country, will find this volume of transactions worthy of careful perusal. Many admirable points were made by the speakers at the conference, and the report shows that it was a real conference and not a mere set occasion for reading essays from the platform to an inarticulate audience.

The addresses given by the various chairmen and the discussions to which they gave rise were exceptionally practical in character and most of those who took part, both from the platform and in the discussion at large, were not only high authorities on the subjects with which they had to deal, but were identified in some form or other in the actual execution of housing or town planning schemes.

The volume is divided into parts corresponding with the conference sessions, as follows:

- (1) Roads in relation to town planning;
- (2) Town planning schemes at Birmingham;
- (3) Town planning under the act of 1909 (2 sessions);
- (4) Legal issues under the town planning act;
- (5) Town planning scheme at Ruislip-Northwood;
- (6) Urban housing;
- (7) Suburban and rural housing;
- (8) The garden suburb;
- (9) The co-partnership system of housing.

The names of the men who presided over the different sessions are a sufficient guarantee of the quality and practical character of the discussions.

The volume is well illustrated with plans, and the editors are to be congratulated on turning out a report which is more readable and interesting than is usual for a conference report.

THOMAS ADAMS.



STUDIES OF TREES. By J. J. Levison. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

PENNSYLVANIA TREES. By J. S. Illick. Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Department of Forestry.

Mr. Levison's book is not so ponderous as its title might imply, being instead definite, succinct, compact and arranged for easy reference. It includes chapters on the identification of trees by their various features, including good but poorly printed illustrations; and on tree requirements, on tree selection and tree care—all admirable in their convenience and arrangement. There are as well chapters on forestry and on the common woods, with a concluding chapter entitled "An Outdoor Lesson on Trees," intended to promote interest in trees as growing objects, particularly the interest of children.

In whole, "Studies of Trees" is an admirable and compact manual for all who may need to know anything of trees. It could be wished that certain stupid and stubborn municipal authorities in Pennsylvania, at least—a state unpleasantly distinguished by its outrages upon trees on streets—were required to pass a critical examination in Mr. Levison's book at least four times each year, so that their sins might be made apparent to them.

Professor Illick's "Pennsylvania Trees" relates primarily to forestry. It is a careful survey of the trees native to "Penn's Woods," and also an adequate and forceful presentation of the value of orderly forestry to the state.

Aside from its excellent arguments and its showing of Pennsylvania's forestry progress, the feature of Professor Illick's work is its "Manual of Pennsylvania Trees," including determining illustrations of the main tree families, and the scientific data desirable in coming at knowledge of them. The illustrations are drawings of most excellent character, made by Miss Margaretta Washington. Some of the native shrubs found in the forests of Pennsylvania are also described and figured.

To any reader of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW who wonders why these books are here discussed, it is proper to say that trees in the city are worth municipal care; and that upon trees in the forest, and plenty of them, depends not only the supply of lumber, but of food for mankind, in eastern North America, according to recent scientific determination. The city man who promotes state forestry is providing against the drying up of the streams and the sterility of the regions that give us wheat and meat.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND



THE EXECUTIVE AND HIS CONTROL OF MEN. By Enoch Burton Gowin. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

To one who expects a scientific treatment of the principles relating to executive ability and deductions made from a study of great executives, this book will probably be disappointing. Beginning with the assertion that "periods of uncertainty, of transition, of struggle intensify the group needs, and in them have all 'social saviours' been born" and defining the "social saviour" as one "best able to bear the burden of a large organization, most versatile in dealing with its complexities, most adroit in pushing it at top speed and most effective in guaranteeing its members greatest returns for least effort," the author enumerates the types of men seek-

ing to meet the terms of his definition as (1) "*intellectuals*" including authors, scientists, artists, historians, theologians, and philosophers, and (2) "*executives*" including railroad presidents, governors, bishops, university presidents, trade union officials and factory superintendents. Of these two types, the latter, the "*personal leader*," is made the subject of study.

Part I deals with the executive as an individual. The chapter on source of personal power concludes "It is clear therefore that a leader is well fortified in fundamentals when, as Thomas Jefferson wrote of himself he is 'blessed with organs of digestion which accepted and concocted, without ever murmuring whatever the palate chose to consign to them.'"

Under "physique of executives" numerous charts ranking leaders according to height, weight, and both height and weight, are presented and while no definite conclusion is drawn the author says, "in noting the favorable relationship between these important executives and their size, one is led to inquire if there might not possibly be some connection between the executive's physique, as measured by height and weight and the importance of the position he holds."

In a chapter on "the energizing level" certain men of small stature who have proved themselves masterful are mentioned and attention is directed to the fact that large men may be lethargic and small men dynamic. A "stimulating environment" contributed to by wealth, position of authority and social approval, the "luminous idea" with power to draw men forward, the "will" impelled by the "luminous idea," and "emotion" are credited as the four factors upon which power depends.

"Effective effort" is made the subject of another chapter, and good use is made of that greatest of executives, Napoleon, as an example of effectiveness. The advantages of organization and the application of it and systematic personal effort are the closing chapters of part I.

Part II, "Motivating the group," is made up of chapters on stimulating and controlling men, personality, imitation,

suggestions, emulation, art, illusion, discipline, rewards, idealism and instruction.

After dealing in part II with the group and the influence of the executive thereon, the author in part III discusses the limits upon the executive. The first three chapters in this part show how apathy, opposition and competition handicap the executive and suggest ways to overcome their effect. With other chapters on executive adaptability and assimilation, or becoming incorporated into the organization built up, part III closes.

ROSCOE D. WYATT.

Hoboken, N. J.

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THE IMMIGRANTS. A Lyric Drama by Percy MacKaye, with an introduction by Frederic C. Howe. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

It is a lyric drama that you may think a tragedy with a setting of wilful grotesque, or, in its lighter phases, an *opera bouffe* with a purpose. But Mr. MacKaye scorns the canons when he is about such serious and noble business as here; his work never fails in imaginative and impassioned verse, and here, too, are rare examples of his delicate and melodious lyrics.

Our immigrants come to us at the call of the well paid job and not, as we so often think, at the lure of American democracy. But for all that, there is generous dreaming among them, and this and its ruthless disillusion are the theme of the drama: To suffering peasants in Italy, patiently believing that God gives no fatherland to poverty, comes a vision of America, with its great patron saint of our New York Harbor—a pitiful Madonna of the poor, standing on the blue waves, with liberty burning on her brow. It is a new saint, this *Santa Libertá*, with a strange cry of “*huray*,” for her ritual word of prayer and acclaim.

And as the immigrant ship glides up the bay on her way to Ellis Island, the wondrous statue is revealed, looming through golden mist. Thrilled with the sight, the peasant pilgrims cry: “We have touched the holy garments of our dream. She has

lifted up her gracious hand and blessed us at her feet.” The towers of Manhattan rise before them and are straightway transformed into the campaniles of a vast cathedral. In their enchanted sight, lesser office buildings become palaces and hanging gardens of the wave. In awed ecstasy Giovanni whispers to his sweetheart: “God gives this heavenly city for our home, where all races meet in brotherhood. In all our lives there will be no holier day than this!”

The shock of the slum shatters the dream. Crushed by heavy labor and the heat, surrounded by the squalor and vice of the great city, a voice cries: “They kill our souls!” Dramatically staged, disease and lingering death visit them. There come fevered dreams of the splashing fountain and the almond tree of the Italian village home. And at the tragic end, facing them, towering mockingly over the ruin of every hope, they see the liberty statue on an electric sign, the cold white light of her starry robe, her frosty jewelled crown.

We hear much these days of the danger to our country from the crowding alien tide. Strongly Mr. MacKaye preaches the forgotten peril—the havoc of the destroying forces of our civilization to which our immigrants are daily sacrificed. And these are some words of his moving appeal:

“O! Liberty, when will you cease in darkness to destroy the souls that seek you? Hark to these peoples crying in the mist! Here, under all, cramped in their vitals, swarm the seekers after life—the slaves of toil—with hearts of yearning. O! Remember these and feed the awful hunger of their hearts!”

JOHN FOSTER CARR.

New York City.

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BANKRUPTING A GREAT CITY (THE STORY OF NEW YORK). By Henry H. Klein. Published by the author, Tribune Building, New York City. 40 cents.

The only reason for dignifying this publication with a review is to forestall the possibility of any readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW spending

forty cents because of the title of the book.

The book is a florid compilation of more or less well known facts regarding extravagances in the municipal administration of the City of New York. The writer's knowledge of the facts is somewhat exceeded by his inability to interpret them or to see the relation between isolated facts and the general subject.

The book is a pot-boiling affair which if it reached the hands of some village store habitant in Nebraska might cause him to believe that New York City bonds were equal in value to shares in the Keeley motor company.

A. DE R.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH CORN MARKET. By Norman Scott Brien Gras. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

This is a carefully prepared, scientific monograph upon the development in legislation and marketing methods of the grain trade in England. From the account books from various London companies and the national customs accounts and port books the author has compiled statistics of corn prices and of the corn trade both foreign and domestic. Detailed facts of exports and imports and coast transportation have been worked out. The policy in the marketing system is followed from the marketing methods of the manor to the twentieth century metropolitan marketing system.

The work is of inestimable value as a source book. Over 200 pages in the appendix are devoted to detailed tables giving the prices of wheat for stated years ranging from 1208 to 1396-97 including general statistics of corn prices up to 1669. Tables showing the changes in duties and functions of middlemen are among the

interesting contributions made to the volume. There is a well selected bibliography of original and secondary sources and a fair index.

CLYDE L. KING.

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THE NEED AND PURPOSE OF THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA. By A. L. Bowley. London: P. S. King & Son.

Professor Bowley's book is a collection of nine easy introductory lectures on social statistics. They cover such topics as the relation of persons to areas, the classification of population according to occupation, social position and family income, the nature of family income, standardization of living and economic progress. The volume is not for technical statisticians, but a useful, handy guide for students of sociology and social workers who may have occasion to deal with statistical measurements. As such it will undoubtedly be helpful in tending to correct the hasty generalizations of those who have not yet learned, in spite of the warnings of history, how dangerous it is to speak of human life in mathematical terminology.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

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LAWS RELATING TO SEX MORALITY IN NEW YORK CITY. By Arthur B. Spingarn. New York: The Century Company.

This is one of the publications of the Bureau of social hygiene, and is a carefully prepared and arranged handbook of the laws relating to sex offenses, to which the first chapter is devoted. The second chapter deals with regulations and offenses affecting sex morality; chapter three contains the provisions affecting children; chapters four and five deal with procedure and the concluding chapter with the general provisions on all these subjects. There is a good index.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

ADJUSTMENT OF SCHOOL ORGANIZATION TO VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS. By Robert Alexander Fyfe McDonald, Ph.D. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

THE AMERICAN PLAN OF GOVERNMENT. The Constitution of the United States Interpreted by Accepted Authorities. By Charles W. Bacon, assisted by Franklyn S. Morse. With an introduc-

- tion by George Gordon Battle. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.
- AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH PROTECTION. By Henry B. Hemenway, A.M., M.D. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$1.25.
- CANADA: THE COUNTRY OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Watson Griffin. Ottawa: Department of Trade and Commerce. 1915.
- THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY. By Henry Otis Dwight. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.
- THE CITIZENS BOOK. Edited by Charles R. Hebble and Frank P. Goodwin. Published under the Auspices of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. \$1.25.
- CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN CALIFORNIA. By John Richard Sutton. New York: American Book Company. \$1.
- COMMUNITY CIVICS. By Jessie Field and Scott Nearing. New York: The Macmillan Company. 60 cents.
- ELECTORAL REFORM IN ENGLAND AND WALES. By Charles Seymour, M.A., Ph.D. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. \$2.50.
- THE FINANCE COMMISSION OF THE CITY OF BOSTON. Reports and Communications. Vol. XI. 1916.
- A GIRL'S LIFE IN GERMANTOWN. By Elizabeth W. Coffin. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. \$1.
- GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY OF ROCHESTER, N. Y. General Survey, Critical Appraisal and Constructive Suggestions. Prepared for the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. 1915.
- GREAT CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES. By Gertrude Van Duyn Southworth and Stephen Elliott Kramer. Syracuse, N. Y.: Iroquois Publishing Company. 70 cents.
- THE GARY SCHOOLS. By Randolph S. Bourne. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- GENERAL STATISTICS OF CITIES: 1915. Including Statistics of Governmental Organizations, Police Departments, Liquor Traffic, and Municipally owned Water Supply Systems, in Cities having a Population of over 30,000. Washington: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. 1916.
- HOW THE PEOPLE RULE. By Charles DeForest Hoxie, Pd.M. Revised and adapted to the use of the public schools of Connecticut by B. Norman Strong. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.
- INDIANA: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY. By Frances Doan Streightoff, A.M., and Frank Hatch Streightoff, Ph.D. With a chapter on Charities and Corrections by Cecil Clare North, Ph.D. Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart Company.
- INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION. By Carl H. Mote. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$1.50.
- THE NEW PUBLIC HEALTH. By Dr. Hibbert Winslow Hill. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.
- THE NEXT STEP IN DEMOCRACY. By R. W. S. Sellars, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.
- NINETEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE LEAGUE OF AMERICAN MUNICIPALITIES, NEW ORLEANS, SEPT. 27-30, 1915. Baltimore: Day Printing Company.
- PARADOXICAL PAIN. By Robert Maxwell Harbin. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. \$1.25.
- RECLAIMING THE BALLOT. By Ward Macaulay. New York: Duffield & Company. 75 cents.
- REPORT OF THE FEDERAL PLAN COMMISSION ON A GENERAL PLAN FOR THE CITIES OF OTTAWA AND HULL. 1915.
- REPORT ON A SURVEY OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT OF NORFOLK, VA. Vols. I and II. Prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York. September-December, 1915.
- THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By Arthur Nichols Young, Ph.D. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. \$1.50.
- STUDIES IN THE COST OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION SERVICE. By F. W. Doolittle. Published by the American Electric Railway Association, 8 West 40th St., New York. 1916.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

New York City Teachers' Retirement Fund.—The veteran among teachers' pension funds in this country, the New York fund, has reached the final stage of exhaustion. Available funds are insufficient to pay pensions in full. As the report of the committee on pensions (1915) says:

It has been a common fault of retirement or pension systems that they have failed to give heed to the cost of putting into permanent effect benevolent programs. It is easy to plan generous benefits but less easy to make financial provision for them. With natural human optimism, the future cost of pension plans is generally discounted, with the result that a comparatively brief experience in applying benefits brings about an inadequacy of income such as now confronts the New York teachers' retirement fund (p. 1).

It has been approaching this condition gradually, recklessly disregarding all warnings. Reorganization was first demanded in 1910; another warning was sounded in 1912, but it was not heeded. Only after the last penny available for the payment of pensions had been used was the need for a serious investigation realized. The New York fund may serve as an important warning to other funds in this country of the fate that awaits those that do not reorganize on actuarial bases.

The report contains an analysis of the conditions which brought the fund to disaster and advances a carefully prepared plan for reorganization. It is interesting, therefore, not only to the members of the fund, but to all those who are interested in the pension problem in this country. Many pension funds are in a similar predicament,¹ or are approaching this condition; but none of them, with the exception of Boston and now New York, have been actuarially investigated.

The teachers' fund, according to the report, was launched² and conducted with-

out knowledge of cost and without any definite or adequate plan for financing the benefits. To be solvent it should now have an accumulated reserve of about fifty-five million dollars; instead, it has used up all its capital³ and income and shows a deficiency of that amount.

The report points to the unsoundness of the common practice of using miscellaneous revenues (part of excise taxes and unrefunded absence deductions) as sources of the pension fund, a practice tending to hide the real cost and therefore to delay the work of reorganization. It proves the inadequacy of contributing by members only 1 per cent from their salary roll (so commonly thought to be sufficient) as against an increasing pension charge, which in New York already amounts to more than 4 per cent and, according to actuarial forecasts, will eventually exceed 20 per cent of the salary roll, if the present pension plan be continued. It emphasizes the unfairness of a situation, where the members contribute to the fund an insignificant amount leaving the taxpayers to bear almost the entire burden of the fund.

A fundamental fallacy of the existing pension systems according to the report, is failure to realize "That the purpose of pension funds is not limited to the payment of pensions, but that such funds should be the means of increasing efficiency of service" (p. 16). Among many existing benefit provisions which "often produce a harmful effect on the service and do not result in an equitable treatment of beneficiaries," the report points to the provision for retirement on the basis of length of service regardless of age or incapacity,⁴ the retirement on half-pay regardless of longer or shorter service,⁵ the determination of the amount of pension

³ Except \$800,000 of which, according to the law, only the income can be used.

⁴ The 30 year service provision in New York permits the retirement at as early an age as 48, "which in the majority of instances means a loss of an experienced teacher" (p. 16).

⁵ "Thereby creating an incentive for a teacher to leave the service at the earliest opportunity" (p. 17).

¹ Cincinnati, San Francisco, Boston, Providence, Newport, etc.

² The New York and Brooklyn funds were established in 1894 and 1895, respectively, and were merged into one fund in 1901.

according to the last salary, and the uncontrolled disability retirements.¹

The tentative reorganization plan advanced in the report is to put the fund on a solvent basis. For that purpose an exhaustive actuarial investigation has been made. For the first time in this country the figures of the cost of pension provisions have been so clearly set before the members of a fund, the city administration and the taxpayers at large. It is proposed from now on to operate the fund on a strictly reserve or "think of the future" basis.² The deficiency is to be discharged by the city (with the help of an additional contribution by the present teaching force) by means of annual installments distributed over a period of sixty years, after which it will be wiped out. This is a novel method of liquidating a deficiency.

A definite percentage of salary is to be set aside each year during the active service of each member and is to be credited to his account to accumulate with interest a sufficient reserve, out of which a pension may be paid, when it becomes due, at the age of 65 or 60 (the importance of the age requirement is emphasized throughout the report), of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the average salary of last 10 years multiplied by the number of years of service rendered. Contributions are to vary according to entrance age of each member. One-half of each contribution is to be paid by the city, the other half by the member,³ the

¹"A certificate of the applicant's private physician is considered a sufficient proof" and "no steps are taken to compel the return to duty of pensioners whose health has been restored" (p. 17).

²The taxpayers are to provide for pension liabilities incurred in respect of current services. "It is unjust to taxpayers that they should be asked in any one year to meet the obligations for service rendered in the past. It is as financially shortsighted to fail to set aside currently the cost of an obligation currently accruing and to mature at some future date, as it would be to fail to amortize long term bonds by annual installments in the sinking fund. No method other than annual payments on an actuarial basis can be advanced for currently accruing funds to meet liabilities as they accumulate" (p. 3).

³Except of the higher contributions necessary in respect of those members who are of advanced age now: their contributions are not to exceed 8 per cent of their salaries, while the city is to supply the

teacher's share varying between 2.52 per cent and 4.53 per cent of salary in case of new entrants and up to 8 per cent in case of the present teaching force. "The share-and-share-alike principle," says the report, "appeals to logic as an equitable method for distributing the cost of a scheme from which both parties (city and teachers) are to benefit"⁴ (p. 52.). The plan also contains a novel savings feature in the way of refunds of the members' contributions any time upon their resignation or dismissal.

It is impossible to review and fairly discuss in a short statement the broad and involved questions raised in the report, and the various alternative solutions presented. The recommendations are not final. "They are submitted for purposes of discussion and are distinctly subject to change" (p. 9). They are very fully described and discussed throughout the 177 pages of the book and are well supported by charts and tables. Chamberlain Bruère, who is the vice-chairman and secretary of the Commission, in the letter of transmittal states that the descriptive and constructive suggestions contained in the report have been prepared under the immediate direction of Robert von Reutlinger, and that the actuarial work was performed by G. B. Buck with the advice of a consulting volunteer board of prominent actuaries nominated at the request of the Commission by the Actuarial Society of America and consisting of W. G. Hutcheson, R. Henderson and H. Moir.

remainder, which in some instances will exceed 50 per cent of salary.

⁴"It is conceivable, of course, that the cost of the entire pension plan may be levied upon the teachers themselves. But to do so would mean either to cut down the benefits below a point where they would seem adequate to furnish a proper basis of retirement, or to impose an intolerable burden upon the teaching force. Similarly it is conceivable that the entire cost might be laid upon the city. But if this were done, the burden on taxpayers would be so great that protest would be surely evoked, and either reduction or complete stoppage of benefits would follow. The middle course of equal division of cost is suggested with the adequate safeguard of the interest of the teachers that in case they withdraw from the service prior to retirement their contributions shall be returned to them with compound interest" (p. 4).

It is to be hoped that the report will be broadly circulated and discussed and that by dissipating harmful illusions it will help to create in this country a sound pension policy.

PAUL STUDENSKY.¹

New Orleans Survey.—The report of the New York bureau of municipal research on the survey of municipal revenues made for New Orleans last year is disappointing and superficial. Nevertheless, it contains a number of suggestions which should be acted on—especially those which can be carried out without legislative aid.

Through administrative action, through commission council ordinance, the following reforms recommended, among others, could and should be accomplished: revision of assessments, increase in saloon licenses, taxation of sidewalk encumbrances and billboards, investigation of municipal expenditure and pensions, standardization of salaries, purchasing system, reorganization of assessors' office force, separate assessment of lands and improvements, full value assessments, increased efficiency in collections, especially in poll tax collections; and a number of other improvements in administrative efficiency in the assessors', collectors' and comptrollers' offices should be put into effect. Publicity should be given to all these detailed recommendations, and the commission council should be made to feel that they must put them into effect if they are to justify the expenditure of the money invested in the report. Three months after the report was presented to the council, no recommendations had been made by the commissioner of finance, to whom it was referred, and he admitted that he had not even read it. This indicates, perhaps, lukewarm interest in the community as well as in the council itself.

But the report, as a serious attempt to study New Orleans revenues and conditions, and prescribe a remedy, is very inadequate. It contains serious errors—as, for example, the statement on p. 101 about the city's overdraft, which is ob-

viously wrong. Commissioner E. E. Lafaye declares that this error was noted in the first draft, and that the correct figures were sent on by Commissioner A. G. Ricks. At any rate, anybody at all familiar with the history of municipal finances here knows that the figures as given, drawn from the published records, do not represent the facts, as the investigators might have seen from the figures themselves had they made even a casual comparison of them. Evidently they took the statistics in the Comptroller's report without even checking them against each other. Figures supplied by commissioner of finance A. G. Ricks indicate that the system of bookkeeping in use prior to the inauguration of the commission-council, with the budget methods, effectually concealed items amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars of indebtedness. These facts, laid bare in the audits of Wermuth and Lloyd, expert accountants, made in 1908 and 1912, caused the council to revise its bookkeeping system; and the data in these two audits should have been at the disposal of the bureau, as these documents are on file at the city hall and their existence was a matter of common knowledge here.

This sort of carelessness and the fact that no study has evidently been made of such obvious problems as the market collections, and the comptroller's report itself (which, though improved since three years ago, is still far from showing all it ought to show, *e.g.*, it does not give a complete account of the reserve fund), makes one doubt the competency of the experts. This doubt is increased by the fact that while some of the recommendations—as those for full value assessments, land value maps, prepayment audits,—are excellent, there are one or two others which are as poor as the investigating work done.

For example—while stating that the need of the state is for "a revenue system equitable as between city and state, between different classes of property, and between different property owners within the city,"—they ignore the fact that it is also demanded that the system

¹ New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

shall be equitable between the different parishes, and between property of the same class and value in different parishes. So the method of apportioning the state taxes among the parishes, which is recommended, is simply to *fix and make legal the present inequitable practice*,—by dividing the state levy according to the amount raised by each parish for all local purposes. This would penalize the progressive localities, exactly as the present practice does. It is hard to conceive of such a proposition being seriously made by anybody who had made a genuine study of the way it actually works. It is said that it is being tried in Oregon and Connecticut; but in Oregon the law is drawn so as to be unjust, and in Connecticut it has only just been passed,—so there is little evidence presented as to how it would work. But we know—because that is what we have here now,—only we do it illegally.

Another questionable recommendation is to “increase personal property taxes” by changing the classification. This seems reactionary.

ETHEL HUTSON.



Illinois County Institutions and Relief Agencies.—The summarized results of a comprehensive inspection of local institutions are embodied in a recent report of the Illinois state charities commission.¹ The chief subjects discussed are jails, almshouses, probation, outdoor relief and mothers' pensions. The criticisms of the jail system are grouped under three or four heads. The problem of sanitation and the physical cleanliness of the prisoners is held to be of primary importance. At present the solution of this problem is impossible, owing largely to the construction of the jail buildings. They are poorly ventilated, without proper means of sewage disposal, equipped with filthy bedding and lack facilities for disinfecting clothing and linen. The fee system of feeding is a source of excessive profit to the officials and irritation to the prisoners. Enforced idleness adds de-

moralization to the prisoners. It is impossible to estimate the amount of expenditure upon jails because of inadequate systems of accounting. A complete reorganization of the jail system is recommended. Nothing less would alter conditions satisfactorily. Medical examination upon entrance, classification of prisoners, detached hospital room, standard air and window space, facilities for bathing and disinfecting and the abolition of the fee system of feeding are among the specific changes advocated. Workhouses and penal farms like those at Occoquan, Virginia, and Guelph, Ontario, are put forward as possible substitutes for the present jail. State administration and supervision are suggested as a method for bringing about some of the desired changes.

There are 101 almshouses in Illinois having 7,019 inmates in 1915. For these almshouses there is an approximate expenditure of \$1,150,000 annually. They are operated under two systems, the salary system and the contract system. Twenty-three almshouses are operated under contract. Three criticisms are urged against this system: first, lack of care of the inmates; second, ignorance of conditions on the part of the county board; third, deterioration of the county farm. Lack of care of the inmates arises from the desire and necessity of the contracting superintendent to make a profit. The county board feels no responsibility for the almshouse after a superintendent has been selected. The incentive for profit has influenced the superintendent to strip the land of its value by producing the greatest possible immediate returns without giving attention to the repairs and the restoration of the soil. The report urges the elimination of the children, the insane and the feeble-minded from the almshouse and the specialization of almshouse care upon the normal men and women who are unable to care for themselves. Hospital equipment is necessary for the care of the sick who are now neglected. At present there is utter lack of almshouse standards in regard to equipment and methods of management. This is shown very noticeably in the

¹ Published in *The Institution Quarterly*, March 31, 1916.

entire lack of relationship between expenditure and methods of management. The costliest are likely to be the worst and the best the least expensive.

Although an annual expenditure of about \$1,500,000 is made on outdoor relief, little detailed information is collected by the officials regarding its administration. The supervisors and the overseers distribute this fund. Lack of details also prevents any accurate idea of the conditions of adult probation. The newness of the mothers' pension system leaves the question of its administrative success still in doubt. In some counties it is considered very successful and in others a flat failure.

JAMES G. STEVENS.

University of Illinois.

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General Statistics of Cities.—The United States census bureau has issued a report for the departmental year 1915 relating to the governmental organization, police departments, liquor traffic and municipally owned water supply system in cities of over 30,000 population.

Part I on governmental organization gives data as to the city councils, commissions, mayors and other executive officials. Of the 204 cities covered by the report, 81 had commission government, 95 others had single chambered councils and 28 had two branches of the council. Of the cities with single chambered councils, 11 elected all the members at large, and 40 elected some of the members at large. In the cities with two houses, 6 elected all the members of the upper council at large, and 3 elected some of the members at large. Nearly half of the cities have thus done away with the ward system for electing the council, and 49 others elect part of the members at large.

The statistics as to mayors and other executive officers cover only the length of term and salaries.

In the police data wide variations are shown in the number of police in proportion to population and in the ratio of officers to the total number of police. Cleveland, Pittsburgh and most of the southern cities have a relatively small

police force, but Washington has nearly twice the number in New Orleans. The proportion of officers ranges from 5.1 per cent in Grand Rapids, Mich., to 22.8 per cent in Oakland, Cal.

The liquor traffic was prohibited in 35 of the 204 cities, which included 6.7 per cent of the aggregate population of the cities covered. In all the cities included the number of retail liquor dealers decreased 16.6 per cent from 1905 to 1915; and in a considerable number of cities there has been a higher rate of decrease. The number of dealers in proportion to population ranged from 1 to 194 in East St. Louis, to 1 to 5,286 in Colorado Springs.

Municipally owned water supply systems were reported by 155 of the 204 cities, of which 73 employed purification processes. The average amount of water supplied was 139 gallons per capita per day. In Chicago the per capita daily supply was 236 gallons, in Pittsburgh 252 gallons, in Buffalo 352 gallons and in Tacoma 430 gallons. The New York supply was 102 gallons per capita each day; that of New Orleans 74 gallons, and Minneapolis 81 gallons.

These statistics furnish data for analysis and study in relation to a number of important municipal problems. The policy of the census bureau has been to compile and publish such information on a few branches of city government every second year, supplementing the regular reports on finance statistics. It is to be hoped that the scope of the general statistics may be extended, so as to cover most of the fields of municipal enterprise within a short period of time.

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Educating Public Opinion.—One of the most difficult problems in the movement for municipal reform, as of other reforms, is that of making known to the great body of citizens the results of the work of those engaged in the systematic study of present conditions and in the development of constructive plans for the improvement of public affairs. Several publications recently issued serve to illustrate different methods of aiding in the work of popular

education in the field of municipal problems.

The town planning committee of Walpole, Mass., has issued a pamphlet of 24 pages on the various forms of municipal government in the United States, giving special attention to the actual working of the city-manager plan. This pamphlet also calls attention to the work of the National Municipal League committee on municipal program; and the Walpole committee has postponed its final report and recommendations for changes in the local government until the "model charter" can be studied.

A report to the Pittsburgh chamber of commerce by Mr. Oliver McClintock, one of its delegates to the Dayton meeting of the National Municipal League, and printed by the chamber, gives a valuable summary of the proceedings of that meeting, with special reference to municipal home rule, the commission manager form of government and Dayton as an example of both.

The Gospel of the Kingdom, a monthly publication devoted to studies in social reform, takes up the subject of home rule for cities in the number for April, 1916. This consists of a series of short articles on municipal problems, one for each Sunday, followed by two more general articles and suggestions for further reading. It is surprising to note that no mention is made of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW or the work of the National Municipal League, although a number of much less important publications are listed.

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The District of Columbia.—In the district appropriation act for 1915, provision was made for the appointment of a congressional committee to inquire into the question of the proper division of the expenses of the district between the federal and the local governments. A joint citizens' committee undertook the task of presenting the case for the district. Resort was made to the census statistics for material which would throw light upon the question as to how the tax burdens of Washington compare with those of other cities. Elaborate tables, prepared under

the direction of La Verne Beales, have been prepared which demonstrate by per capita comparisons that the burden in Washington is not lighter than that in most other cities of similar size and circumstances.¹

In the brief of the committee, it is vigorously contended that the contribution of the United States treasury should be a fixed proportion of the total expenses, and that the proportion should be not less than one-half. The most interesting feature of the brief is an historical account of the financial relations between the district and the United States government since the very beginning. This is presented in an effort to prove that the act of 1878 fixing the half-and-half rule of division was of the nature of a contract and that "any proposed change . . . should receive the same consideration as is always given to proposed alterations in the constitution of the United States."

An extended argument before the congressional committee presented by Theodore W. Noyes on behalf of the citizens committee has also been published,² with extracts from the report of the congressional committee. The latter body finds:

That there is no reason for any arbitrary rule of proportionate contribution for the expenses of the District of Columbia by the residents thereof and by the people of the United States . . . ; that the correct rule should be that the responsibility in taxation of the residents of the District of Columbia be as fixed and certain as the responsibility of residents of other American cities comparable with the city of Washington.

The question of the political status of the District of Columbia and its residents has been reopened by the introduction of a resolution in the U. S. Senate proposing an amendment to the constitution of the United States giving the District representation in congress and in the election of

¹ Comparisons of municipal tax levies and receipts, expenditures and valuations (Washington, 1915, 59 pp.); and brief on behalf of the joint citizens' committee of the District of Columbia, July, 1915 (99 pp.).

² Argument of Theodore W. Noyes before the joint select committee of Congress . . . on the fiscal relation between the United States and the District of Columbia. Extract from S. Doc. 247, 64th Congress, 1st Session (1916).

president. An argument of T. W. Noyes in favor of this amendment, and the report of a committee of the Washington board of trade have also been published.¹

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New York State Bureau of Municipal Information.—The State bureau of municipal information of the New York State mayors conference has during the first five months of its activity studied and gathered data on more than one hundred subjects affecting municipal problems and government. It has compiled information and issued reports, some of which have been printed for general distribution among city officials and reference libraries and the state municipal leagues. These reports are available only to the officials of the cities of New York state and a selected mailing list consisting of public and private organizations throughout the United States, with which the bureau has established co-operative relationship.

The most comprehensive reports issued by the bureau have dealt with refuse disposal. One, which has had general distribution, describes the different methods of collection and disposition of ashes in American cities and the unit cost of the systems. The other report, which has just been compiled by the bureau, describes the methods and cost of collecting and disposing of garbage in all New York state cities and fifty of the largest cities of the United States outside New York.

Among the other subjects studied and upon which reports have been prepared by the bureau at the request of one or more New York state cities which the bureau is serving are the following: Municipal regulation of bonfires, police data, including blank forms used by departments in large cities, regulation of street traffic, methods of keeping track of criminal resorts and disorderly houses, preventive work and methods of apprehending criminals, sterilization of water by liquid chlorine, public charity department; in-

¹ Argument of Theodore W. Noyes before the subcommittee of the [Senate] Committee on the District of Columbia in S. J. 32 (1916); Report of Special Committee of the Washington Board of Trade on the Political Status of Residents of the District of Columbia (1916).

vestigators—forms—per capita cost of poor relief in large cities, water rates in New York state cities.

J. R. CARPENTER.

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Council and Commission Cities.—The bureau of the census has issued a small pamphlet containing an interesting comparison of the financial statistics of cities under the council and commission forms of government. Twenty-four cities in all are compared—eight which had the council form in 1913 and in 1915, eight which had the commission form in these years, and eight which had the council form in 1913 and the commission form in 1915. The three groups were roughly comparable as to the size of the cities included, but the average size of the council cities was larger than that of the commission cities, while the latter were larger, on the average, than those of the third type. The comparisons are made altogether in the form of per capita figures. This method does not put the three classes of cities upon a wholly comparable basis because of the well-known tendency for municipal expenditures to increase faster than the population. The data are submitted with a reminder of this fact.

The report presents a comparison of the property tax levies, the governmental cost payments, indebtedness and assets. In the case of property tax levies, revenue receipts and governmental cost payments, the volume of expenditure per capita followed the grouping by population. The council cities led, with the commission cities second, though the tax levies of the latter were but little above those of the third type of city. In this there is a suggestion of the relatively greater efficiency of the commission form of government. But the figures showing debts and assets are evidence on the other side. The commission cities had by far the largest average per capita debt—\$56.94 in 1915, as against \$46.00 for the council cities and \$39.16 for those which have changed since 1913. Likewise, the average per capita assets are lowest for the commission cities. It seems a reasonable inference that the commission cities as a whole owe

their favorable showing in the comparison of tax levies to a more liberal policy in the use of public credit.

H. L. Lutz.

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Chicago Social Service Directory.—“The best governed are the least governed” is rapidly losing its potency as a political phrase with which to conjure, and nowhere is the change that has come and is coming over the ideals and aims of city government more clearly to be seen than in the great metropolitan city of Chicago. The modern trend is clearly towards a socialized individualism—the responsibility of the body for the member—and students of political science will be interested in the signs of the times portended by the formation in Chicago of a department of public welfare and by its recent publication of a social service directory. This is a compilation and brief summary of all the existing social service agencies in that city; for the preface states “that one of the functions of the department is to furnish working tools and facilities for the social service profession.”

The listing is alphabetically arranged under fifteen principal heads ranging from “child welfare” to “thrift and loans,” and these are further divided into 83 sub-titles, so that, as it may be imagined, the number of agencies enumerated is legion. One is interested to find a sub-division entitled “community churches,” containing 35 names, under which heading “are included only such religious organizations as maintain as their chief function social service activities for the neighborhood, in a church building or other neighborhood headquarters, or that employ regularly a paid social worker.”

EDWIN S. LANE.

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Legal Rights of Policemen and Firemen.

—George H. Stover, assistant corporation counsel of the city of New York, has rendered a service of distinct importance to the members of the uniformed police and fire forces and to those professionally or theoretically interested in municipal government by the preparation and publica-

tion of his treatise on “The legal rights of civil servants in the city of New York.”

This treatise contains a clearly expressed and well arranged exposition of the legal principles governing the appointment, removal, reinstatement, compensation and pensions of policemen, firemen and other civil employes in the city of New York. By means of its unusually excellent arrangement of text and full citation of cases in the footnotes, it constitutes a reference book for desk use which will enable every member of the rank and file to understand his legal rights and every officer to know what the law requires of him in his dealings with employes. Although the practising lawyer and student of municipal science will not feel the want of an index to this volume acutely because of the logical arrangement of its text, the value of this treatise as a handy book of reference would have been materially increased by the addition of a well prepared guide to its contents.

Every policeman, fireman and civil servant in the city of New York should read this volume carefully in order that he may fully understand his legal rights and be at all times in a position to protect them. Every administrative officer in the city service should not only master its contents but also have it at all times conveniently at hand in order that he may overlook no necessary legal procedure in his dealings with his employes. And every municipality should seek to obtain at the earliest practicable date an equally well written treatise on the legal rights of its own civil servants, since there are few factors of greater importance in maintaining the efficiency of policemen, firemen and civil servants than a clear understanding by officers and employes of the legal rights of all.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

✱

Billboard Advertising in Springfield, Mass.—A new municipal report on the ubiquitous billboard problem, followed closely by the decision of Judge Landis, on March 14, declaring the associated bill-posters of the United States and Canada a

combination in restraint of trade, gives publicity and a new impetus to the widespread war upon our great national nuisance even should the dissolution of the billposters organization cause a temporary aggravation of that nuisance by removing centralized authority desirous of placating the public.

The first impression given by the report of the city planning commission of Springfield is slightly disappointing because a report in detail of the substantial and important progress in legislation and court decisions since the New York report of 1913 is needed and has been eagerly awaited by those who have learned that the billboard evil is entirely a legal problem. A more careful study of the report, however, shows its wisdom in centering energy upon the awakening of local public sentiment against billboards. Legislation and court decisions quickly reflect public opinion and the continuance of any form of advertising, moreover, depends upon public attitude toward it. The unexpected reverses met in the courts by the pioneer opponents of billboards arose partly from the fact that no widespread public sentiment had been awakened and the consequent specious pleas of "class legislation" were not satisfactorily answerable.

Those early reverses due to arguments based upon æsthetic considerations have been followed in the past few years by successes and increasingly encouraging progress since entirely utilitarian arguments have been advanced. For much greater progress only stronger public sentiment is needed. Consequently, in touching but briefly upon the legal aspects, which have now grown too complex and technical for the layman, and in attempting by its array of photographs to create against disfiguring signs civic sentiment which can be translated into a drastic ordinance, the city planning commission has displayed much acumen. Its efforts should be followed by an ordinance which will mark a step even beyond those of St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee.

JESSE LEE BENNETT.

Baltimore, Md.

Municipal Statistics of British Columbia.—Hon. Robert Baird, inspector of municipalities of British Columbia, has recently issued a condensed statement of the assessed valuations, tax levies and debenture indebtedness of the cities and certain districts of his province. The figures relating to real property assessments are of special interest to all interested in the partial or complete exemption of real property improvements. These statistics show that about one half the so-called cities or incorporated places now tax real property improvements at from 25 to 50 per cent of their value, while land is taxed at full value. The largest city thus assessing improvements is one of 6,000 inhabitants. The cities of larger populations with over four fifths of the real property tax improvements the same as the land. The report of assessed valuations has the very commendable feature of giving the value of exempt property as well as that of the taxable.

The statistics of indebtedness, if compared with those of the municipal indebtedness of the neighboring states of Washington and Oregon, show that the burden of indebtedness in the province is at least three times as great as immediately south of the boundary line. The cities of the province have a reported population of 258,750, as compared with 442,251 for the cities of Oregon and 840,355 for those of Washington. The debenture debt of the cities of the province, by which is meant its funded and special assessment debts, aggregate \$72,525,180, as compared with the debts of the cities of Oregon of \$40,529,494 and of the cities of Washington of \$72,745,116. The per capita debts of the three are as follows: British Columbia, \$282.95; Oregon, \$91.64; and Washington, \$86.56.

L. G. POWERS.

✱

Minneapolis Municipal Statistics.—Minneapolis is one of the few American cities maintaining a city statistician who has the ability to present statistical data in an attractive and intelligible form. His publications, whether such brief statistical sheets as that issued each year under date

of January 31, or the more pretentious pamphlet issued each year under date of July 15, are true publicity statements, such as the officials of the National Municipal League have long advocated. The publication last mentioned aims to present in a condensed form for a series of 25 years statistics concerning the most important branches of the city government and for that government as a whole. It also presents more detailed statistics with reference to the last or current year.

In presenting his financial data, the statistician has striven to show the relation of the costs of government to the average taxpayer. In most particulars he has succeeded. From the given standpoint, the Minneapolis reports would be improved if its debt statement was so analysed as to show the amount of indebtedness that has to be met from the general taxpayer as distinguished from that which is to be met from special assessments, water revenues and revenues of other productive enterprises if such there are.

L. G. POWERS.



Rate Research.¹—This publication, while of prime interest to those who are concerned with electric light and power rates, also has a general interest for all students of public utility regulation. *Rate Research* publishes new schedules of lighting and power rates put into effect from time to time in various communities by the companies furnishing the service; abstracts of decisions of public service commissions and courts affecting rates, service and extensions, and the principles of valuation upon which rate decisions are based; and references to important court decisions on these matters, and to articles and published addresses and reports relating to them. Such subjects as discrimination, rate of return, depreciation, revision of contract rates, protection from competition, flat rates, public ownership, going value, working capital, and overhead expenses, receive particular consid-

eration. The publication is edited by William J. Norton, formerly assistant secretary of the public service commission of New York. The matter is presented in convenient form and the abstracts and summaries are intelligently made and apparently with fairness to the public interest.

DELOS F. WILCOX.



Unmarried Girls with Sex Experience.²—No doubt the general confusion and lack of real knowledge, which prevails in the thinking on all questions regarding sex, prompted this attempt to apply the methods of science to a study of one phase of the subject. Inasmuch as the bureau for social research of Seybert Institute did not undertake a study of the whole problem of immorality, it chose well when it determined to lay a better foundation for the treatment of that group in society which now suffers the greatest possible stigma for its failure to adhere to accepted standards.

This study consists of a somewhat scattering statistical analysis of record of girls in certain institutions, some conclusions drawn from that analysis and some recommendations based on those conclusions. The laboratory material, so to speak, is made up of 147 records of girls committed in 1909 to the Pennsylvania girls' house of refuge, 68 of which commitments were for sexual immorality and 79 for other causes; 392 records of immoral women—almost all prostitutes—in the Philadelphia house of correction in 1914, half of whom had been or were married at the time of their arrest; 55 records from the Magdalen home, which are admittedly inadequate and 22 records from the midnight mission. In the treatment of the subject, the statistics and discussion of each institution form a unit.

While there is no intention to criticise this piece of work in detail, its character as a contribution to existing knowledge on its subject may be judged from the reasoning applied to one point. One of

¹ Published weekly by the Rate Research Committee of the National Electric Light Association, 111 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

² Bulletin 1, Bureau for Social Research of the Seybert Institute, Philadelphia, Carol Aronovici, Director, 48 pages.

the main theses of the study sets forth (p. 31) "The evidence we have been able to gather shows that the majority of the girls come from abnormal family surroundings; the main problem, therefore, is to deal with the family and the girl through three distinct lines of service." These consist of family rehabilitation before, during and after institutional care of girls. There are probably few people who would be inclined, on *a priori* grounds, to quarrel with this conclusion. But as a finding based on the evidence submitted in this report, it is open to question. It is founded on the conditions discovered in selected cases. Of all the so-called immoral girls in the community, those receiving institutional care are, of course, singled out by some method for this special attention. Can these selected cases which should, to quote the report, "be considered only as a manifestation of a far-reaching social and biological problem" be taken as typical, so far as family conditions are concerned, of all cases of immoral girls? Should not some account have been taken of the tendency in "normal" homes to conceal a weakness of one of the members of the family and to use every means to prevent public disgrace? Should there not have been some allowance also for the tendency, in cases where family conditions make it difficult to conceal such a matter, as with orphans or where the responsible members of the family are in some way incapable of the usual protection, to consider sexual immorality as cause for the gravest action—institutional treatment—on the part of the community? Finally, do not these same unsatisfactory family conditions in themselves operate in the selection of these cases for institutional care? In fact, is it not very largely the girls from "abnormal homes" who are committed? Is there not, therefore, danger of fallacious reasoning when general conclusions are drawn from compilation of the statistics of these cases?

Since we know nothing about the other side of the shield—cases of "abnormal" family life where the daughters have remained chaste—the recommendation that 'All girls should be removed from their

homes during a critical period in the life of the family, or of the girl, and such girls should be placed temporarily in a suitable home and at suitable work while the adjustments are being made in the family" seems like a venture on a dangerous way as yet unlighted by knowledge.

Other questions arise as to the reliability of the records, the sufficiency of data, the character of psychological tests, and the extent to which individual judgment is exercised in determining what constitutes "normal" or "abnormal" conditions. One cannot help having a feeling of disappointment, too, that there is nothing in the report which throws any light on the very interesting question suggested in the opening paragraph:

In dealing with the subject of the unmarried girl with sex experience, it is imperative that we discriminate between the immoral girl, who, because of a desire for gain, sells her body for immoral purposes, and the girl who, through a strong sex instinct, or because prompted by a genuine sense of the romantic, yields to the man who consciously or unconsciously makes himself responsible for her moral downfall and its attendant consequences.

In general the service of this contribution consists of raising questions rather than answering them. The usefulness of the bulletin is considerably lessened by the omission of index, outline, table of contents or any other means for locating references, and its rather unattractive physical appearance further detracts from its effectiveness.

NEVA R. DEARDORFF.

✱

Studies of the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy.—Shall the benefits of the "mothers' aid" law be extended to women with illegitimate children?

Are communities effectively organized to cope with this pressing social problem, to interpret it to legislative bodies and to provide for its prevention and relief?

It has remained with Boston social workers, long pioneers in advanced methods of social amelioration, to attempt to answer these and kindred questions with a thoroughness of research entirely satisfying. The Boston conference on illegiti-

macy is made up of a group of workers who deal personally with unmarried mothers, "and who have joined together with the purpose of more clearly defining the problems met during their care of these women and girls."

The method used has been: first, by discussion and criticism of actual cases; second, by forming groups of workers for special study. This special research promises to be of incalculable value in formulating plans for methods of treatment and an effective community program.

These study groups, six in number, are three of them for research. The objects of the groups on legislation, on feeble-minded and on syphilis, is to get light on the handling of individual problems, and thus at once to raise the standard of care for the mothers and to prepare the workers for the study of general problems later. The work of the research committees, those on present conditions in Boston, on normal girls, and on public opinion, has looked towards the more precise defining of problems that a small group can fairly attempt.

These are: (1) the problems of so assembling the facts amassed in the case—investigations of thirty odd societies and hospitals, as to disclose recurrent causal factors that otherwise would be lost in the details; (2) the problem of fixing upon certain handicaps, other than mental defects, predisposing to unchastity; and (3) the problem of appraising the stigma attaching to illegitimacy.

At the present stage of its work "the conference feels its positive achievement lies not so much in conclusions upon the matters of its study as in contributing something, in a peculiarly intricate field, towards a sound critical method."

The first year's work is exhaustively reported (September 1914) under each group heading, and while the findings bear specifically upon conditions in Boston, they are capable of a wider, even a national application.

Of special interest is the report of the group on public opinion:

"Believing that the conference seeks to know what is the just and right atti-

tude of society toward persons directly affected through illegitimacy, and would wish to take any possible action to help bring about this attitude, and that as a preliminary it is important to learn whether the traditional beliefs about society's treatment of such persons are actually true; and assuming that these common beliefs are—that an illegitimate child is severely handicapped, that an unmarried mother is permanently disgraced, and that a man who is known to be the father of an illegitimate child is not disgraced, a circular was prepared.

"This circular was sent to one thousand persons chosen at random from all parts of the state from five representative groups, doctors, lawyers, overseers of the poor, manufacturers, and women's club officers, 200 of each. Four hundred and eighty-one replies were received, divided as follows: from the officers of women's clubs 117, doctors 108, lawyers 98, overseers 86, manufacturers 72. Nearly half of the circulars were returned, the usual rate of returns from a questionnaire being from one-fourth to one-third. This exceptionally high rate of return seems to indicate a widespread interest in the subject."

JANICE S. REED.



Annual Report of Chief Magistrate McAdoo.—The annual report of William McAdoo, chief city magistrate of the city of New York for 1914, is the first official report that has come to our hands which has been prepared in such a manner that it will be found as interesting by the non-professional citizen as it will be found valuable and helpful by those who are professionally engaged in public safety work. This report contains in simple, non-technical language a clear exposition of the manner in which the magistrates perform their duties, and an explanation of the machinery of probation. For the professional reader it discusses the problems, connected with the issuance of summonses, the administration of an effective system of probation, the administration of the laws with reference to prostitution in the night court for women, and in the penal institutions of the city, the finger-printing of convicted persons and the treatment of pickpockets and drug users. The recommendations of the chief magistrate for the improvement of the court procedure and the

efficiency of the city's control of the criminal classes include giving to the magistrates the power to dispose of minor criminal offenders instead of being obliged to hold them for trial by a higher court; providing custodial care for an indeterminate period for incorrigible women offenders instead of short-term workhouse confinement; simplifying the procedure for the conviction of prostitutes in tenement houses by an amendment to the law, which will make the certificate of the tenement house commissioner *prima facie* evidence of the fact that a building is a tenement house instead of requiring this fact to be proved by the testimony of respectable tenants; and the establishment of a central city statistical bureau which will collate, render uniform and make readily available the criminal statistics of the various departments and courts of the city. Even in the presentation of the statistics of which the report contains more than 270 pages, an effort has been made to interest the general reader as well as to instruct the professional reader. Graphic diagrammatic presentation of the most important statistics accomplishes the first result and a critical analysis of the action of each magistrate in each class of cases, as well as a careful subdivision of those statistical groups which are so large as to be unwieldy for purposes of critical analysis assist in accomplishing the second result. The report also makes mention of the death of Chief Clerk Philip Black, to whose genius for administrative work the city magistrates' courts of New York owe their present excellent court routine.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

✱

Philadelphia Art Jury.—The third and fourth annual reports of the Art Jury of Philadelphia, covering the years 1913 and 1914, contain in their illustrations, which are many and excellent, a striking evidence of a municipal art commission's value to a city. The fact that the illustrations in these reports especially emphasize light standards and the bridges by which steam railroads are carried over streets, is a reminder that the protective

criticism of such a commission safeguards the city not only from atrocities of its own production, which would be a considerable matter, but from those of the corporations.

That the value of the art jury is more and more appreciated in Philadelphia has been shown by an Act of Assembly, approved July 24, 1913. This greatly extended the jury's jurisdiction and consequent opportunities for service. As a result of that extension, the president of the jury is able to say, in the 1914 report: "The jury was first appointed October 7th, 1911. By the end of the year 1913, 121 submissions had been made to it. During the year 1914, 182 submissions were made to it, fifty per cent more in this one year than had been made in its previous existence." As the illustrations bear witness to the artistic gain to the city from the art jury's criticisms, it is interesting to read that the required revisions of design have meant "generally a net decrease of cost."

In its reports the jury states its dislike of illuminated overhanging or projecting signs, its belief that it is undesirable to permit private lighting along the curbs, and its feeling that the construction of marqueses and metal awnings is being much overdone. It has recommended "that all private lighting and advertising fixtures shall be hereafter limited to such as can be affixed to the walls of buildings and will not project more than four feet beyond the building line or descend below ten feet above the sidewalk"; that the ordinances requiring supports at the curb for all marqueses be repealed, and finally that only theatres, hotels, and railroad stations be permitted to erect them and then in front of only one entrance.

CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON.

✱

Increased Living Costs in Canada.—On December 20, 1913, the royal commission was appointed in Canada to investigate the increase in the cost of living in Canada. The investigation covers the dominion.ittings were held in all important centers and inquiry was made in each case as to the

increase in commodity prices, in rents and in service. On February 16, 1916, the commission made its report. Nine causes are assigned for the increased living costs. Chief among these are: the increase in the gold supply; extravagance and waste, public and private, individual and social; restricted supply due to disproportionate urban and rural development; uneconomic methods of marketing and distributing farm products; higher standards of living for rich and poor; insufficient service and lack of vocational training; uneconomic household expenditures; and the effect of trusts and combines. Among the remedies suggested are: the encouragement of land settlement; more attention to mixed farming; increased production; standardization and improvement in the quantity of farm products; coöperation and distribution; the extension of the parcels post system; the making of good roads; cheaper and more accessible working capital especially for western farmers; a more comprehensive system of vocational training, and a better

understanding for the fundamental principles of production, marketing and purchase. The report advocates public ownership of all utilities in cities and towns such as electric light, water, gas and street railways.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.



Comparative Salary Data.—This is the title of a pamphlet issued by the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research. It contains comparative salary data obtained from the payrolls of 14 cities in the United States, 48 private establishments in Philadelphia, and salary standardizations of 7 American cities for 128 positions in municipal service. The pamphlet contains 76 pages and is for sale at 75 cents a copy. It is dated March 1, 1916, although not issued until June 1. Its chief purpose is to give some idea of the market value of the various services commonly rendered by public employees, and thus serve as a guide to appropriating bodies and standardization agencies in fixing salaries.

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COLLINS (HON. CORNELIUS F.). The children's court of the City of New York. (Legal Aid Review, Apr., 1916: 1-9.)

Address: Legal Aid Socy., 239 Broadway, N. Y. C.

DAINOW (DAVID). Jewish court of arbitration [in Montreal]. (Canadian Municipal Journ., Apr., 1916: 125.)

PHILADELPHIA, PENN. Municipal Court. Annual rept., 2 d, 1915. 320 pp. 8°.

This is the first full year of operation of this court. The reports are notable for the excellence of the display of the social statistics.

Debt

CITY CLUB OF CINCINNATI. Should the city borrow \$1,250,000? 16 pp., obl. 12°.

Vigorous protest against proposed loan. "An expert economy and efficiency investigation should be instituted immediately."

Elections

KEITH (THEODORA). Municipal elections in the royal burghs of Scotland from the Union to the passing of the Scottish Burgh Reform Bill in 1833. (Scottish Hist. Rev., Apr., 1916: 266-278.)

NEW YORK SHORT BALLOT ORGANIZATION. Proposal for a constitutional amendment providing for the state short ballot. 1916. 15 pp. 4°.

Engineering

ANON. Co-operation in engineering societies. (Power, Apr. 25, 1916: 600-601.)

Enumeration of various ways in which co-operation in engineering has produced gratifying results in civic affairs.

SADLER (FREDERICK). The duties of a municipal engr. and surveyor in connection with factories and workshops. (Surveyor and Municipal and County Engr., Mch. 31, 1916: 346-349.)

THOMPSON (W. B.). The debt of New Orleans to the engineer. (Journ. Amer. Socy. Mech. Engrs., May, 1916: 394-396.)

Excess Condemnation

MASSACHUSETTS. COMMISSION TO REPORT UNIFORM METHODS AND PROCEDURE FOR TAKING LAND FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES. Supplementary report of the tax commissioner, the attorney-general and the chairman of the homestead commission relative to uniform methods and procedure for taking land for public purposes. 1916. 78 pp.

House document, 1916, no. 1750.

SWAN (HERBERT S.). Excess condemnation in street improvements. (Amer. City, Mch., 1916: 258-62. illus.)

Ferries

SMITH (R. A. C.). History of [N. Y. City] ferries. (Municipal Engrs.' Journ., May, 1916: 305-308.)

Filing Systems

FEE (ROBERT J.). Filing correspondence in a municipal department. (Engrng. News, Apr. 27, 1916: 786-788.)

Mr. Fee is indexer of the records of the Bd. of Water Supply, N. Y. City.

Finance

HOUSTON, TEX. Tax and Land Commission. Financial statistics regarding Houston, Texas, compiled by J. J. Pastoria. 1916. bdside.

Fire Departments

BOSTON [MASS.] CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. Committee on Municipal and Metropolitan Affairs concerning the proposed "one day off in three" schedule for the Boston Fire Department. Mch. 6, 1916. 10 folios.

DAUNTLESS CLUB OF THE BUFFALO FIRE DEPT. Statistics of fire departments. 1915. 39 pp. 12°.

Ninth issue. Published by permission. Tables showing, for each grade of service in 118 American cities, the salary and time off, allowances made for

equipment and sickness and injury, size of department, etc. Price per copy, 25c. Address J. F. Flood, President Dauntless Club, 1195 Niagara St., Buffalo, N. Y.

Fires

TENNESSEE INSPECTION BUREAU. Rept. on conflagration at Nashville. (Fire and Water Engrng., Apr. 26, 1916: 257-258.)

See also under City Planning.

Flood Protection

ANON. Flood protection in Indianapolis. (Municip. Engrng., Apr., 1916: 124-27. illus.)

CONRAD (CUTHBERT P.). Flood protection plans for Dayton. (Wisc. Engr., Mch., 1916: p. 274-283.)

Gary Schools

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Education Committee. Modern schools for New York City. May 30, 1916, 40 pp.

Woman and the City's Work. v. 1, no. 30. Issued wkly. at 25-cents per year. The foregoing rept. was compiled by Agnes De Lima, chrm. of the education committee. A good list of "What to read on the Gary plan" accompanies the report.

Government

DUNAWAY (JOHN ALLDER). Some efficiency methods of city administration. (Annals Amer. Acad. Polit. and Social Science, Mch., 1916: 89-102.)

GAFFNEY (JOSEPH P.). Address at the annual banquet of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, Apr. 6, 1916. 7 pp., obl. 12°.

Citizens' business no. 204.

GUILD (J. M.). Citizen co-operation in municipal affairs. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvements. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 335-338.)

KIRKPATRICK (F. A.). Municipal administration in the Spanish dominions in America. (Trans. Roy. Hist. Socy. (London), ser. 3, v. 9: 95-109.)

NEW YORK CITY. Mayor. Speech of Hon. John Purroy Mitchel at the dinner of the Committee of 107 at the Hotel Astor, May 2, 1916. 104 pp.

"Your committee constitutes the only responsible medium through which this administration, the product of non-partisan fusion, can account to the electorate. . . . This annual meeting of your committee offers the single opportunity to present to the people of the city, in a comprehensive way, the aims and purposes as well as the accomplishments of those in whom this great public trust, of government has been reposed for a little while."

TRIBUS (LOUIS L.). The city at work. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvement. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 353-367.)

UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU. Comparative financial statistics of cities under council and commission government. 1913 and 1915. 1916. 15 pp.

CITY MANAGER PLAN

ANON. Increasing water works efficiency under city manager government. (Engrng. and Contracting, May 17, 1916: 446-447.)

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF PITTSBURGH. Report of Oliver McClintock delegate to annual conference of the National Municipal League. Feb. 24, 1916. 24 (1) pp.

Municipal home rule; commission manager form of government; Dayton as an example of both.

KING (LYMAN M.). The city manager plan. (Pacific Municipalities, Apr., 1916: 144-150.)

QUIRE (JOSEPH H.). Notes on the city manager plan of municipal government. 1916. 3 leaves.

Mr. Quire is secy. of the Bureau of Municipal Reference University Extension Division, University of California.

SHERMAN, TEXAS. Report of the city manager [Karl M. Mitchell] for the eight months ended Feb. 1, 1916. 16 pp., obl. 8°.

WAITE (HENRY M.). The Dayton plan of government. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvements. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 327-334.)

WALPOLE, MASS. Town Planning Committee. Preliminary report on town government. Mch., 1916. 24 pp.

Useful data on actual workings of city manager plan, p. 9-19.

COMMISSION PLAN

NATIONAL SHORT BALLOT ORGANIZATION. Certain weaknesses in the commission plan of municipal government. Why the commission-manager plan is better. 1916. 15 pp. 12°.

Grade Crossings

ANON. An interesting track elevation project. (Rwy. Age Gaz., Mch. 31, 1916: 755-759. illus.)

A descr. of work involved in 3½ miles on the Evanston Branch of the C. M. and St. Paul Rwy.

— Extensive grade separation at Spokane, Wash. (Rwy. Age Gaz., Apr. 28, 1916: 948-952. illus.)

— Track elevation and station at Fort Wayne, Ind. (Engrng News, Mch. 16, 1916: 492-495. illus.)

BROOKLYN GRADE CROSSING COMMISSION. Preliminary rept. of the work of eliminating grade crossings, covering the work during 1914 and 1915 and up to Feb. 1, 1916. Typewritten. 10 folios.

Housing

ANON. Städtische Siedlungspolitik nach dem Kriege. (Ztschr. d. oesterr. Ingenieur-u. Architekt. Vereine, Mch. 10, 1916: 195-196.)

— The housing problem after the war. (The Builder (London), Apr. 21, 1916: 297-299.)

BROWN (FRANK C.). Workingmen's housing at Hopedale, Mass. (Archit. Rev., Apr., 1916: 64-67. illus.)

DAVISON (ROBERT L.). The problem of low-cost housing. (Architect. Rev., May, 1916: 79-80. illus.)

DOYLE (DANIEL S.). Housing. (Journ. Stat. and Soc. Inquiry Socy. of Ireland, Dec., 1915: 255-268.)

FREELAND (W. E.). New housing development at Worcester. Norton Company's plan under which its employes may own homes in an unusual environment. (Iron Age, May 18, 1916: 1187-1190. illus.)

GOECKE (THEODOR). Arbeitersiedlung der Bergwerksgesellschaft Hermann m. b. h. bei Bork. (Der Städtebau, Dec., 1915: 113-114.)

IHLDER (JOHN). The housing of wage-earners. (Architect. Rev., Mch., 1916: 37 passim.)

KILHAM AND HOPKINS, ARCHITECTS. The houses for the Salem Rebuilding Trust. (Architect. Rev., Apr., 1916: 68. illus.)

NATIONAL CONGRESS ON HOME PROBLEMS AFTER THE WAR. Proceedings. (Building News (London), Apr. 19, 1916: 376-379.)

Synopsis of proc. of the congress held in Westminster from Apr. 11-14, 1916.

NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION.

What our cities do not know. 29 pp.

Rept. on replies to a questionnaire sent out to 128 cities of the U. S. concerning sanitary conveniences, dark rooms, underground living rooms, housing accommodation, etc. There is a list of limited dividend companies in the U. S. and Canada which have undertaken improved wage-earners' dwellings and a list of state and municipal as well as volunteer housing commissions or departments.

PETERS. Wettbewerb zur Bebauung eines städtischen Baublocks an der Königsstrasse in Magdeburg. (Städtebau, Oct.-Nov., 1915: 97-100. illus.)

Dr. Peters is Stadtbaurath of Magdeburg.

PHILLIPS (R. RANDAL). An English housing scheme. Duchy of Cornwall estate at Kennington, London. (Brickbuilder and Architect, Mch., 1916: 69-74. illus.)

PRUSSIA. Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Förderung der Ansiedlung. (Techn. gemeindeblatt, Feb. 20, 1916: 332.)

Synopsis of law presented to Lower House of the Prussian Diet on Jan. 14, 1915. Provides for an apprx. of 100 million marks to be used in promoting home sites, housing, etc., in both urban and suburban territory.

SHAWCROSS (HAROLD). Housing schemes after the war. (Arch. and Contract Reporter, Apr. 28, 1916: 307-309.)

SPAHR (ALBERT H.). The town of Midland, Pa. A new development in housing near Philadelphia. (Architect. Rev., Mch., 1916: 33-36. illus.)

STEINBRÜCKER (FRANZ). Wohnungsmangel u. Wohnungselend. (Der Städtebau, Dec., 1915: 114-116.)

Voss. Bebauungsplan für ein städtisches Gelände an der Uellendahler strasse u. Kohlstrasse in Elberfeld. (Techn. gemeindeblatt, Mch. 5, 1916: 341-345. illus.) To be cont'd.

Jitney

NASH (L. R.). History and economics of the jitney. (Stone and Webster Journ., May, 1916: 361-377.)

PENNSYLVANIA. PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION. Penn. jitneys are common carriers. Synopsis of opinion in Scranton case. (Electr. Rwy. Journ., Mch. 25, 1916: 627.)

Kingsport, Tenn.

STONE (WILLIAM H.). Remarkable industrial development under way at Kingsport, Tenn. (Manufact. Rec., Apr. 20, 1916: 46-48. illus.)

Licenses

CHICAGO, ILL. Municipal Reference Library. Ordinances of four cities in the U. S. governing the licensing of newsboys and news-stands. Dec., 1915. Type-written. 4 folios.

New York City (1915); Detroit (1904?); Newark (1913); Providence (1914). Copies may be secured from Public Affairs Information Bureau, White Plains, N. Y., for 20 cents each.

Liquor Traffic

CITIZENS' LEAGUE OF HENNEPIN CO., MINN. How a wet majority was handed to dry Minneapolis. Nov., 1915. 15 pp. Issued by the Executive Committee of the League.

FORBES (W. T.). Liquor censorship at Mason City. (Amer. Municipalities, Mch., 1916: 213-214.)

Lockport, N. Y.

LOCKPORT (N. Y.) BOARD OF COMMERCE. The Lockport Leader. Vol. 1, no. 1. Apr., 1916. 4°.

Published monthly. The Board announces the following as among the things of most importance to be taken up, viz. freight station, freight interchange, public market, industrial survey, credit bureau, employment bureau, traffic bureau, systematic illumination, systematic protection of shade trees, renumbering of houses, standardizing a sidewalk grade, playground system.

London, Engl.

ANON. Westminster: an interpretative survey. I. Method: the non-national unit. II. The mediæval city, its survivals and tendencies. (Sociological Rev., Oct., 1915-Jan., 1916: 252-284.)

Manchester, Engl.

HEMM (GORDON). Some Manchester (Engl.) sketches. (The Builder, Mch. 24, 1916: 235-236.)

Illustrations of some of the principal public bldgs. of Manchester with hist. notes by the artist.

Markets

ANON. Die Berliner Grossmarkhalle. (Der Eisenbau, Mch., 1916: 68-71. illus.)

— Electric roads to serve large market. (Electric Rwy. Journ., Apr. 22, 1916: 782-783. illus.)

Newly formed company announces immediate start of construction of union market terminal in the heart of Los Angeles.

HILESHEW (JOHN C.). Carlisle (Penn.) municipal market. (Municipal Journ., Mch. 30, 1916: 431-432. illus.)

Milk Supply

ANON. Das Kopenhagener System der Milchversorgung. (Kommunale Praxis, Feb. 19, 1916: 113-118.)

Municipal Bonds

SHANKS (SANDERS). Selling municipal bonds in 1916. (Amer. City, Mch., 1916: 234-235.)

Municipal Research Bureaus

ANON. Why the Bureau of Municipal Research should be continued in Dayton. Mch., 1916. 4 leaves. 24°.

Issued by a committee of citizens interested in reorganizing and refinancing the Dayton Bureau of Municipal Research. On back cover is a list of other American cities having bureaus.

DETROIT BUREAU OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH, INC. [Announcement.] 1916. 4 leaves. obl. 12°.

Municipal Service

See also Civil Service.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Rept. of the committee on municipal service survey. Dec. 31, 1915. 39 pp., 1 foldg. chart.

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, N. Y. CITY. Standardization of municipal employments. Nov., 1915. 117 pp. Municipal Research, no. 67.

— Training for municipal service. Dec., 1915. 51 pp., 1 foldg. chart.

Municipal Research, no. 68.

— Legal rights of civil servants in the City of New York. Oct., 1915. 202 pp.

Municipal Research, no. 66.

FULD (LEONARD FELIX). Improved discipline for city employes. (Survey, Apr. 29, 1916: 122-123.)

Maintenance of discipline by fining system; regulation of dismissals by a joint trial board.

ROBINSON (FREDERICK B.). Our [i. e. City College of New York] municipal courses. (City College Quarterly, Mch., 1916: 18-30.)

Prof. Robinson is Director of Evening Session and Division of Vocational Subjects and Civic Administration.

Official Journals

BOSTWICK (ANDREW LINN). Report on city official journals. (Journ. of the Bd. of Aldermen of St. Louis, reg. sess., May 5, 1916: 47-52.)

Pageants

COPELAND (JENNIE F.). The pageant of Boston. (New England Mag., Mch., 1916: 115-126.)

Ordinances

For ordinances on special subjects see Plumbing. For electrical codes see Public Utilities.

Parks

See also Amusement Parks.

KERFOOT (L. S.). Oakland's parks and the Lake Merritt improvements. (Architect and Engr. of Cal., May, 1916: 65-70. illus.)

LOHMAN (KARL B.). The park development problems in the hard-coal region. (Coal Age, May 27, 1916: 914-917. illus.)

LYLE (WILLIAM T.). Parks and park engineering. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1916. 130 pp. illus.

The author is professor of municipal engrng. in Lafayette College.

RASCH (EDGAR). Zur Beschaffung u. Unterhaltung öffentlicher Grünanlagen. (Der Städtebau, Dec., 1915: 117-120.)

Pensions

NEW JERSEY. Commission to Investigate Pensions for State and Municipal Officers and Employees. Report. 1916. 14 pp.

NEW YORK CITY. PENSIONS COMMISSION. Report on the pension funds of the City of New York. Part 1. Operation of the nine existing pension funds. 1916. 6 p. l., 171 pp., tables. 4°.

Piers

See also Recreation Piers.

STANFORD (CHARLES W.). Two-story shed for New York's forty-sixth street pier will be 969 ft. long. (Engrng. Record, Mch. 27, 1916: 708-709. illus.)

Mr. Staniford is chief engr., Dept. of Docks and Ferries of N. Y. City.

Plumbing

PORTLAND, ORE. Ordinances. Plumbing code, 1916. 67 pp., obl. 12°.

Issued by the Dept. of Public Works.

Port Development

ALASKA

WHITHAM (PAUL). Planning of Alaskan ports. 1916. 24 pp., 13 pls. 4°.

Published by the U. S. Interior Dept.

CORPUS CHRISTI

BARTLETT (TERRELL). Corpus Christi causeway. (Engrng. Record, Mch. 18, 1916: 390-392. illus.)

GALVAN

TRERY (CHARLES A.). Galvan port, Bahia Blanca, Argentine. (Indian and Eastern Engr., Feb., 1916: 66-67.)

Abstr. of paper read before Inst. of Civil Engrs., London.

GLASGOW

MASON (SIR THOMAS). The improvement of the River Clyde and harbour of Glasgow, 1873-1914. (Minutes Proc. Inst. Civil Engrs. (London), v. 200: 101-175.)

JACKSONVILLE

ANON. Modern port facilities under way at Jacksonville. (Manufac. Rec., May 4, 1916: 66-67. illus.)

MELBOURNE

ANON. The port of Melbourne. (Indian and Eastern Engr., Feb., 1916: 58.)

MOBILE

ANON. A few reasons why Mobile is not a coal port. (Black Diamond, Apr. 15, 1916: 316-317. illus.)

MONACO

CHAUVET (R.). Les travaux du port de Monaco. (Le Génie Civil, Feb. 26, 1916: 129-134. illus.)

NANTES, FRANCE

KAUFFMANN. La Loire et le port de Nantes. (Annales de Ports et Chaussées. Pte. Technique. 1915, no 5: 164-267. illus.)

NEW ORLEANS

ANON. New Orleans position in the export coal market. (Black Diamond, Mch. 25, 1916. illus.)

NEW YORK CITY

ANON. First unit of Jamaica Bay improvement completed. (Engrng. Record, Mch. 18, 1916: 392-393. illus.)

UNITED STATES

ANON. Southern ports the salvation of the nation's commerce, foreign and domestic. (Manufacturers' Record, May 25, 1916: 46-51.)

Improvements under way at Mobile, Fernandina, Jacksonville, Miami, Tampa, Brunswick, Savannah, New Orleans, Baltimore, Southport, N. C., Wilmington, Charleston, Aransas Pass, Freeport, Galveston, Houston, Newport News.

Psychopathic Clinics

BISCH (LOUIS E.). A police psychopathic laboratory. (Journ. Amer. Inst. Crim. Law and Crim. Psychol., May, 1916: 79-88.)

Refers to the N. Y. City laboratory.

PATON (STEWART). The city's need of a psychopathic clinic. (Journ. Amer. Medical Assoc., Mch. 11, 1916: 808-810.)

Public Comfort Stations

GERHARD (WM. PAUL). Public comfort stations. (Amer. City, May, 1916: 449-457. illus.)

Public Health

BOLDUAN (CHARLES F.). Over a century of health administration in New York City. Mch., 1916. 40 pp.

Monograph ser. 13, New York City Health Dept.

Public Utilities

See also Water Supply.

ANON. Compromise of Philadelphia rate case. (Electr. World, Mch. 18, 1916: 638-639.)

Substance of compromise agreement and history of case.

— Cost of operating city lighting plant in Detroit. (Electr. World, Apr. 29, 1916: 997.)

— Electric service to interconnected Illinois towns. (Electr. World, May 20, 1916: 1146-1153. illus.)

— Intimate relationship between any municipality and the local railway system. Both progress or stagnate together. The B. C. E. R. and the Vancouver district. (Electr. News (Toronto), May 15, 1916: 32-34.)

— Plainfield, N. J., gets free lighting privilege. (Power, Mch. 21, 1916: 422.)

Summary of facts surrounding decision of N. J. Court of Errors and Appeals of Mch. 6, 1916, holding that agreement between city of Plainfield and Public Service Electric Co. for free lighting service for municipal buildings is valid.

— Power development at Fort Dodge, Ia. (Engrng. and Contracting, May 10, 1916: 21 illus.)

After being twice defeated during the past four years, a bond issue for the construction of a municipal dam and hydro-electric plant on the Des

Moines River was approved on Nov. 8, 1915, by the citizens of Fort Dodge.

BEMIS (EDWARD W.). Final summaries on Dallas utilities. (Electr. Rev. and Western Electrician, Mch. 18, 1916: 494.)

BERKELEY, CAL. Ordinances, rules and regulations governing electrical work in the city of Berkeley. 1916. 27 pp.

CHICAGO, ILL. Department of Gas and Electricity. Electrical code. Rules and regulations of the Dept. of Gas and Electricity. Edition of 1916. 238 pp. 12°.

CHRISTIE (A. G.). Calgary's municipal power plant. (Power, Mch. 24, 1916: 352-357; to be cont'd.)

— Lethbridge (Alberta) municipal power plant. (Power, Apr. 4, 1916: 462-466. illus.)

— Municipal electrical utilities of western Canada. (Power, Mch. 14, 1916: 378-387.)

— Municipal power plant operated by Saskatoon, Can. (Power, May 2, 1916: 606-609. illus.)

COHN, CHARLES M. Phases of new Baltimore gas rates. (Gas Industry, May, 1916: 307-308.)

FIEDLER (L. K.). Städtische gemeinnützige Anlagen in Polen. (Elektrotechn. Ztschr., Feb. 17, 1916: 90.)

Survey of proposed utility development in Poland. Of the 121 cities of Poland, 18 have more than 20,000 inhabitants. There is a table showing the nature of the various utility services.

MARYLAND. PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION. In the matter of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co. of Baltimore City. Investigation of the rates and charges, property and affairs. Case no. 690. Opinion filed March 8, 1916. 104 pp.

ROGERS (WARREN O.). Danville (Va.) municipal lighting plant. (Power, Apr. 25, 1916: 572-577. illus.)

SCOTT (ARTHUR C.). Growth of a combination utility in a small city. (Electrical World, May 6, 1916: 1039-1041. illus.)

Developments at Cameron, Tex., with a pop. of 5,000, in supplying electrical service, water and ice.

VICHNIAK (J.). L'usine génératrice d'électricité de Moscou. (La Revue Electrique, Feb. 4, 1916: 69-80. illus.)

Publicity

AMERICAN CITY BUREAU. Summer school for commercial organization secretaries. 2d year announcement. 1916. 8 leaves. 4°.

Address: American City Bureau, 87 Nassau St., New York City.

REDDING (LEO L.). The Redding idea. 4 leaves. obl. 8°.

Address: 440 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City. Leo L. Redding & Co. are promoters of organization campaigns. The co. managed the Newark Anniversary campaign.

Raleigh, N. C.

RALEIGH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, RALEIGH, N. C. Who's who in business in Raleigh. Apr. 25, 1916. 40 pp. 24°.

Recreation Piers

ANON. The new Chicago municipal recreation pier. (Electr. Rev. and Western Electrician, May 20, 1916: 905-907. illus.)

Refuse Disposal

BACOM (GEORGE R.). Five ton garbage reduction plant yields profit to city [of Pontiac, Mich.] (Engrng. Rec., Apr. 22, 1916: 541-542.)

BARLOW (J. E.). Garbage disposal in Dayton, O. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvements. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 1-6.)

EWINGER (M. I.). The collection and disposal of city refuse. (The Iowa Engr., Mch., 1916: 226-233.)

MACKIE (GEORGE D.). Refuse removal and disposal in Moose Jaw, Sask. (Canadian Engr., Mch. 23, 1916: 371-373.)

MILLER (B. F.). Garbage collection and disposal. (Amer. Socy. Municip. Improvements. Proc. 22 ann. convention, 1915: 7-15.)

Safety First Campaign

WOOD (W. E.) and B. T. LONGINO. Methods and results of "safety first" campaign at Jacksonville, Fla. (Stone and Webster Journ., Apr., 1916: 307-316.)

Sanitation

BOSTWICK (ANDREW LINN). Co-operation between the police and health authorities, especially in the matter of sanitary inspection. Dec., 1915. Typewritten. 6 folios.

Copies may be secured from Public Affairs Information Bureau, White Plains, N. Y., for 30 cents. each.

Savannah, Ga.

BOOKER (ROY G.). Southern progress typified in activities at Savannah. (Manufacturers' Record, Apr. 27, 1916: 48-50. illus.)

School Clinics

BERKOWITZ (J. H.). Free municipal clinics for school children. Feb., 1916. 16 pp.

New York City, Dept. of Health. Reprint ser. no. 41.

School Surveys

— Sanitary school surveys as a health protective measure. 1916. 9 pp. illus.

Repr. from The Modern Hospital, Mch., 1916.

BOBBITT (FRANKLIN). Rept. of the school district no. 1 in the city and county of Denver. Pt. 1. General organization and management. 1916. 116 pp.

Schools

See also Gary Schools.

CAHILL (B. J. S.). The city of Berkeley's new public school buildings. (Architect and Engr. of Cal., May, 1916: 39-54. illus.)

JOHNSON (WILLIAM T.). An open-air school in California [Francis W. Parker School, San Diego]. (Journ. Amer. Inst. Architects, Apr., 1916: 162-164. illus.)

Sewage Disposal

HOUSTON, TEX. City Engineer. Annual rept. on sewage disposal, 1st, 1916. 59 (1) pp., 2 ll., diags.

On Nov. 15, 1914, the people of Houston voted \$1,000,000 for the extension of sanitary sewers and the building of a disposal plant. More than 81 per cent of the ballots were in favor of the bonds. At the present time approximately 70,000 people, or one half the population, are served by the sanitary sewer system of the city of Houston.

Skating Rinks

ANON. Duquesne Garden (Pittsburgh) ice skating rink. (Ice and Refrigeration, Je. 1, 1916: 353-357. illus.)

Smoke Abatement

ANON. La suppression de la fumée par la précipitation électrique. (La Nature, 20 Avril, 1916: 282-285. illus.)

Goss (W. F. M.). Smoke as a source of atmospheric pollution. (Journ. Franklin Institute, Mch., 1916: 305-338.)

Especially Chicago conditions.

HILL (HALBERT P.). Electrical precipitation of smoke and dust. (Electr. World, May 13, 1916: 1097-1099. illus.)

MILLER (E. J.). Smoke abatement. (Universal Engr., Apr., 1916: 334-337; to be cont'd.)

Social Centers

CHICAGO, ILL. Department of Public Welfare. Catalogue of contributions available for community and social center programs. Jan. 3, 1916. 16 pp.

A classified list of volunteers, individual or organizations, who will contribute lectures or music, etc.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY CENTERS AND RELATED PROBLEMS. Call for a conference to be held in New York City, Apr. 19 to 22, 1916. 10 pp.

WILSON (MARGARET WOODROW). The schoolhouse as a community center. Mch., 1916. 7 pp.

Amer. Civic Assoc. ser. 2, no. 9. Address: Union Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Social Evil

BUREAU OF SOCIAL HYGIENE, NEW YORK CITY. Commercialized prostitution in New York City. Nov. 1, 1915. A comparison between 1912 and 1915. 15 pp.

GOLER (GEORGE W.). The municipal-ity and the venereal disease problem. (Amer. Journ. of Public Health, Apr., 1916: 355-359.)

SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE OF BALTIMORE CITY. The abolition of the red-light districts in Baltimore. 1916. 23 pp.

Includes article by Dr. Abraham Flexner on the regulation of prostitution in Europe, p. 15-23.

Social Service

CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, N. Y. CITY. Improving social conditions in New York City. Jan. 5, 1916. 58 pp. Its Bulletin no. 105.

Street Lighting

ANON. Boston street lighting arbitration. (Electr. World, Apr. 29, 1916: 1011-1012.)

— Milwaukee's extensive street-lighting plan. (Electr. World, Mch. 18, 1916: 645-648. illus.)

— The new street-lighting system of Milwaukee. (Electr. Rev. and Western Electrician, Apr. 1, 1916: 579-582; to be cont'd. illus.)

CITIZENS' BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL EFFICIENCY [OF MILWAUKEE]. Street lighting reports—a pamphlet of reference. Mch., 1916. 136 pp.

— The street lighting question. A summary. Mch., 1916. 14 pp.

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Mr. Woods is police comr. of N. Y. City.

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Mr. Busby is president of the Chicago Surface lines.

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Mr. Gibbs is secy. of the Metropolitan Bd. of Works of Melbourne, and this article is an extended review of a recent book by Mr. Gibbs on the water supply systems of Melbourne.

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Mr. Pruett is city engr. of Miles City.

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